

sible to indicate in detail what the local groups should do, what they should be told, how their efforts should be phrased, until we have a more clearly determined National direction. But if the machinery were actually worked out and ready to be put into effect, then the minute a more definite cue is given, it could go into force. Working out the machinery would mean training an adequate technical field staff and assembling the material necessary to make the NATURAL RIVALRY MAPS and the plans for PUBLICIZING ALONG NATURAL RIVALRY LINES.

It is also possible to work out now some guiding premises on the relationship between American character and the national direction.

If it were decided that for another six months Defense was still to be the keynote, then a good deal could be said about ways in which the idea could be handled better. If we are merely getting ready to meet a threat, it doesn't fit the American's ideal of himself to be hurrying. 'Hitler is a threat, that is, he has a bigger gun than we happen to have on hand. Okay, we'll make ourselves a gun bigger than he has. Let's get on with the job.' But hurry doesn't fit in. 'People only hurry when they are scared pink or when they are going somewhere.' Americans won't admit they are scared and it wouldn't be good for morale if they were. And Defense isn't going anywhere, it's like paying a bill that was mislaid, or an extra income tax assessment which the Income tax department finds out was unpaid - two years later. Not only can we not gear high morale to a defense program, but it is actually a morale error to try to do so. If we use high pressure methods to enlist interest in something which is essentially routine and

unattractive, an unpleasant, inescapable duty - all we do is to discredit the methods. Once it can be made clear that we are going somewhere - as for instance to win the War - then Americans can be enlisted in complete participation if some such genuine local participation scheme as has been outlined is used. But even to go somewhere, to reshape the world, to wipe Hitler off the map, or however it is phrased, full American participation can not be gained by high pressure salesmanship, or national propaganda. In 1917 it was a new experience for Americans to be part of the National Show. Getting orders direct from Washington, shouting the same slogans that everyone else was shouting because Washington said: 'These are the words', had a certain appeal of novelty, short-lived because it didn't fit in to the American character really, but still an appeal. But since that time we've had the disillusionment with the last War and its propaganda, endless lessons in how advertisers get their results, detailed efforts to make us distrust German propaganda and so all propaganda. That is one side of the story. The other side is that since the depression, millions of Americans have been in touch with Washington - through WPA, and CCC camps! The relationship between Washington and a small town in Nebraska has ceased to have even its 1917 spurious glamour. It won't work. Instead of 'Come and ride on the front seat with Daddy, Jimmy my boy, and I'll let you pretend to hold on to the wheel for a minute while I steer', we've got to substitute: 'Got to get this engine running smoothly. Come here, Jim, and see if you can't stop this friction. We have to think up some way of getting going quick! We're going places!

## COMMUNITY RESETTLEMENT IN A DEPRESSED COAL REGION

Frederick L. W. Richardson, Jr.

### I. THE COMMUNITY:

#### Human Problems in Planning a New Community A. INTRODUCTION

In 1937, in one of the northern Appalachian coal States, a new charitable corporation was formed, the purpose of which, as stated in the by-laws, was: '.....the rehabilitation and assistance of industrial and agricultural workers.....unable to obtain sufficient suitable employment.....'

The intention of this corporation was to concentrate on finding a solution for the situation created by the mass unemployment of stranded coal

miners in the Appalachian coal fields.

Everyone is familiar with the fact that the coal industry has been going through a major reorganization and retrenchment brought about by the convergence of many forces - over-expansion of the industry during World War I, loss of markets to coal substitutes (oil, gas, and hydro-electric power), increased efficiency in coal consumption, rapid mechanization of mining processes, and government control and regulation of the industry.

Coupled with these conditions is the fact that mining is an extractive industry, unable to support

continuously in one area the economic structure which has been built upon its operation. Hence, in all the bituminous coal areas in the United States, serious situations have arisen. In the late 1930's, careful studies revealed a surplus of 200,000 workers in the industry who, it was claimed, would never be employed full-time again. Including families, this meant a stranded population of 1,000,000 people.

For the first time in our history, continuous mass unemployment threatens our whole economy. Masses of industrial workers face permanent displacement brought about by technological advances, and by declining and shifting markets. The present war upturn can serve to remedy this situation only momentarily.

In the coal regions of the country, Government and private relief agencies have given money and food to keep workers' families from starving; in addition, the coal companies' credit system, the WPA, and the CCC camps have shared the burden. Frankly recognizing that these methods are no more than temporary palliatives, many people have suggested various 'back-to-the-land' schemes; in fact, a number of articles have appeared in periodicals in favor of such proposals. On the other hand, the difficulties confronting the population already on the land have also been pointed out. Once there was agricultural opportunity for all, but with technological change, that opportunity has been removed. In fact, studies of the U. S. Department of Agriculture have given rise to the following conclusion:

'Hundreds of thousands of farm people are having difficulty in making a living on the land. Displacement of those already on farms has become a serious problem. What of the urban-worker who wishes to start in farming on a full-time basis in the midst of these conditions. There isn't room for him in agriculture. We must look farther for an opportunity for low-income industrial workers. Perhaps an entirely new way of life, neither full-time farming nor industrial employment alone is the answer.\*

A handful of men, both in and outside the Government, are convinced that neither agriculture alone nor industry alone can be the solution for mass unemployment. Instead they believe firmly that a combination of the two holds great promise. In 1933,

Congress authorized the establishment of a Division of Subsistence Homesteads making it possible to carry out the scheme of combining subsistence agriculture with industry, and to test its value as a new way of living for industrial workers.

Among the original planners and administrators of this Government program were some of the men who founded the private charitable corporation above mentioned. Two years' work with the Government had made them dissatisfied with inefficient execution of policies. Several conflicts had arisen from the overlapping of duties of the three responsible agencies; the planning, construction and operating boards. The high cost of the housing was well beyond ability of the homesteaders to pay. To build the houses, unemployed men were in effect hiring high paid union labor. Powerless to control the execution of these government policies for which they were responsible, these men felt that:

'The time was ripe for a private agency to make some practical experiments in order to develop a technique to deal with the problems of rehabilitation of unemployed miners.'

These Government workers, therefore, formed a committee with others interested, which later became the charitable corporation with which we are concerned. The members immediately set about determining what they wanted to do and how they were to do it. Considerable practical experience in this country, as well as a general familiarity with English procedure, provided the basis for the plans that they had in mind:

'The experiment in rehabilitation, based upon self-help, subsistence production, retraining for new skills, and development of individual and community activities is in line with the best approved methods used in England. and:

'.....members of the group will work cooperatively in the development of the cultural life and economic activities of the community.'

In short, a new type of living, a new society, was envisaged, stressing (1) self-help, or, action on the principle that if a man wants a thing he can produce it himself, and (2) cooperation in community, social and economic activities. Later, after the investigator had associated for some time with members of management, he was able to determine more precisely what management meant by these statements of purpose. To translate them into more explicit terminology, they meant: (1) a society, rel-

\*A PLACE ON THE EARTH. A Study of Subsistence Homesteads in the U.S.A. Unpublished report of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, 1941, Part I, Chapter II, p.9.

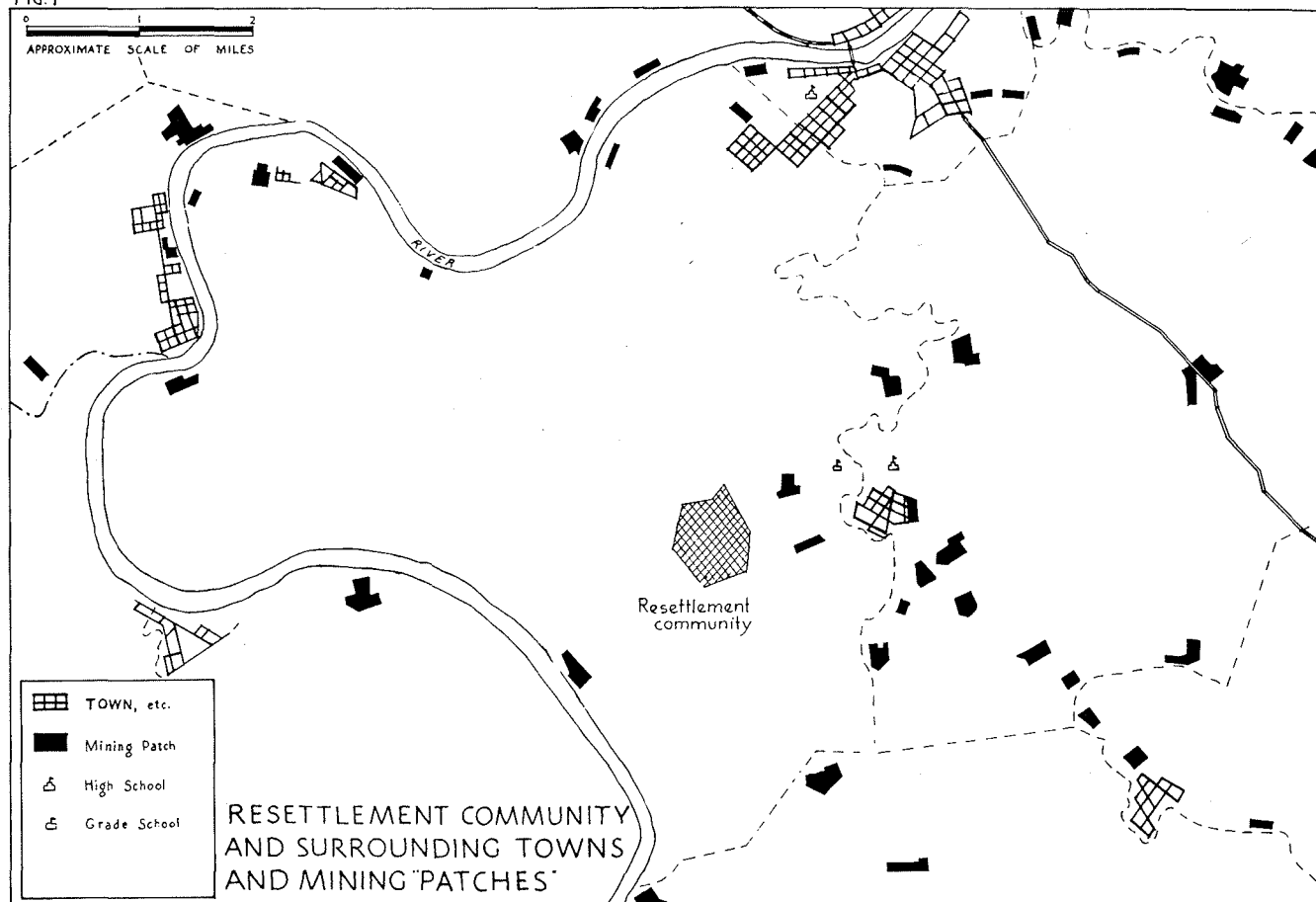
actively self-sufficient economically and socially, whose members participate to a maximum in their own organizations, and to a minimum in outside activities; (2) individuals proficient in many skills, who both cooperate with and lead others. In addition, a third aim was conceived, as quoted above - namely, the desire to discover a method that could be applied in subsequent work to the mass unemployment problem.

As preliminary steps in carrying out the plans of the corporation, money was raised and a survey of an Appalachian coal county was made. The county chosen was outstanding in its number of unemployed miners. Between 1933 and 1936, 150,000 men, women and children, or two-thirds of the population, were at some time on relief. The prospects for the future were even worse, as the commercial coal in the county was almost exhausted, and permanent unemployment appeared to lie ahead in the near future. Even if the miners should leave, where could

they go in a nation glutted with unemployed? By 1937, the survey of the county had been completed, and well over \$100,000 had been raised.

The next steps were hiring a Field Staff and selecting a site. In the spring of 1937, an abandoned farm in the heart of a mining area in the county was chosen as the site for the future project. It contained 200 acres on which were a few buildings, including a large old red brick farmhouse later to become the Community Center. The property lay at the head of a shallow valley, centrally located in relation to many mining settlements, or 'patches' as they are called locally. (See Fig. 1) About two miles away was a town of 2000, and five miles distant a town of 10,000. On this property, it was planned to settle fifty homestead families, each one to be allotted about one and one-half acres on which to build a house and a chicken coop, and to cultivate a small subsistence garden. The remaining land, owned by the community, was to be set aside for such purposes as com-

FIG. 1



munity farming, recreation, store, etc. In the meantime, a Field Staff of three men with their families had been chosen and they proceeded to select the homesteaders and to prepare the land for the building program.

During the first year and a half of the project, from the spring of 1937 till the fall of 1938, a great deal had been accomplished. The Field Staff had chosen thirty-five homesteaders - all miners below the rank of foreman - who then moved onto the land from the neighboring mining settlements. These homesteaders were a variegated lot, including Americans, 'foreigners,' and five colored families. Some of the 'foreigners' were immigrants, most were first-generation Americans of Slavic, Italian, German parentage, and the like. Their fathers and mothers had been herded over from the 'old country' a little after the turn of the century to work in the coal mines.

To guide the community activities, three more staff members had been added, two to act as foremen on house construction, the third to teach weaving. Each family except some of the staff had as its temporary home a unit of two small single-room shacks, one 10 feet square, the other 20 feet square, built primarily for use as brooder house and chicken coop. By living in this way on the project, the men could use their spare time to advantage, working on their permanent houses, which they were given to believe would all be completed within a year or two. Two staff members and their families lived on the property in the original large brick farmhouse, and a few others commuted to the project from nearby.

As most of the homesteaders had part-time jobs at the mines, they could work on their gardens and on the construction at the project only during spare hours and their days off. A system was devised - called the credit-hour scheme - whereby each family contributed the same number of hours of labor to construction, matching in their way management's capital loan. As a member of management said: 'This idea is the heart of the self-help scheme.' In this fashion, labor costs were almost entirely eliminated, making cheap housing practical.

The organizations of the new community consisted of a cooperative grocery store; a farm, which furnished milk, etc. for the homesteaders; a weaving enterprise for subsistence and commercial production; and a large number of committees and clubs. During the summers of 1937 and 1938, a work camp of almost 50 ardent young college boys and girls lived on the project, taking over the Community Center. Under the direction of a young married couple, they endeavored to gain personal experience with

current social problems and to do their bit to help. Specifically, they worked on the construction and guided the community life, in which they took an active part. From sheer weight of numbers, the impact of the campers was considerable; in fact the first summer they far outnumbered the homesteaders. At the close of the summer camp in 1938, four young campers joined the project as volunteer staff members. One of them, a young woman, conducted a nursery school; the other three were young fellows who helped with construction work and guided some of the committees and clubs.

At this time, the main activity at the project was the construction of a sweater factory by the men. They had forfeited the time they would ordinarily have put into building their houses to donate their labor for the construction of what was hoped would provide the economic salvation of many families.

At about the same time that this effort toward greater economic self-sufficiency was being made, the charitable Rehabilitation Corporation decided conscientiously to take steps toward fulfilling their third aim, namely, the establishment of a rehabilitation procedure. To aid them in performing this duty, they turned to the Graduate School of Business Administration at Harvard University, and asked the cooperation of the Department of Industrial Research. The managers thought that the experience of that department, gained in industrial and community studies, would provide an estimate of the methods used in the project and an analysis of the reasons for its success or failure. As a result, the writer undertook a study of the situation, and from the fall of 1938 to the winter of 1939, he was alternately participating in the life of the community and analyzing the data collected.

#### B. BEGINNING OF INVESTIGATION - ESTABLISHMENT OF METHOD

##### 1. Formulating Problem - Changing People's Way of Living - Equilibrium

To 'point up' the investigation and make it of maximum value to management - the Corporation and Field Staff - it was necessary to make clear-cut the exact nature of the problem. As past experience in resettlement has shown, the difficulties encountered are tremendous. But this is not surprising, as resettlement and rehabilitation are major types of reform, similar, in fact, to missionary work or even to colonization. The difficulties and dangers of all such major social reforms are familiar to all - the difficulties of overcoming people's well-known stubborn resistance to change, and the dangers of making people worse off than they were in the first place.

Why do people commonly resist change, even when their security, if not their very existence, is threatened? How can such people be guided so that they will willingly change their mode of life to one offering a far greater assurance of survival? To find the answers to both these questions was the great challenge to management and to research.

It is, of course, impossible to answer these questions without a full understanding of what is involved in such undertakings as rehabilitation and resettlement. For one thing, hardly a single aspect of the lives of the rehabilitated remains unaffected. Their relations with their family, with their friends, with their co-workers, with all their associates and acquaintances is put to a strain. Their customary skills and their ways of doing things may be changed as well as their physical environment. No longer are they surrounded by a familiar setting. The adjustment required may be impossible for older people. Perhaps even more disconcerting than associating with a large number of totally strange people is the necessity of finding one's own place among them, knowing when to lead and when to follow. No longer can people be taken for granted; no longer can one know what to expect. It is upsetting for anyone, although some individuals make these changes more easily than others. The unwillingness of people to make changes is a substantial obstacle to all social reform.

But why do people vary in their capacity for adopting changes? If an answer could be found to this question, the problem of administration would be greatly simplified. In line with these observations, the investigator set about formulating tentative explanations to be tested, and the following point of view, which was used as a basis, proved valuable both in determining the course of the investigation and in drawing conclusions from its findings.

As everyone knows, people become accustomed to certain definite daily, weekly, monthly, and seasonal routines. For many, the routines become so ingrained after years and years of repetition that any serious change, such as moving to another part of the country, is looked upon with horror. In contrast, others having a wide experience in life, become conditioned to many different types of routine, and usually find it easier to adjust to different situations. Both types of people within their own environments may be well-balanced, but when subjected to small changes, those who are more easily upset often become sullen or bad-tempered, in contrast to adaptable people, who 'always get along.' In other words, some people become conditioned to a limited acquaintance among people; they become canalized in a restricted routine

and tend to tolerate only certain familiar ways of behaving, and of carrying on human intercourse. Others, however, become conditioned to a wide acquaintance. If among these acquaintances they are friendly with many different types of people, of necessity they must tolerate many types of behaviour. Whatever the differences between the two types may be, they have at least one point in common, namely, that in their relations with others they become adjusted to their particular social environments. To use a more scientific terminology, within the range of their own environment, their relations are in equilibrium; they differ in that the range of one is narrow, the range of the other broad.

Speaking more precisely, the type of accustomed social behaviour referred to includes such things as the number and kind of associates and the type of supervision. For every person there is a breaking point, at which he loses his temper, stirs up trouble, or otherwise attempts to compensate for the disturbance to his equilibrium. In dealing with others, the tactful person intuitively knows a person's breaking point and treats him usually in such a way as not to upset him.

This same property of equilibrium not only applies to individuals but also to groups of individuals in organizations, societies, and nations. Practical men of affairs are often intuitively aware of the amount of change that both their organization and the key leaders within it can tolerate. If these tolerances are exceeded in any of a number of ways, as for instance, by curtailing activities so that employees become relatively idle, management may have a strike or other crisis on its hands. In contrast, if the energies of the employees are redirected in other channels, or if their relations with others become re-established, such crises may be averted.

Thus it can be seen that in resettlement and rehabilitation projects, new avenues for expression must be substituted for the old, if people's habits and routine relations are to be changed successfully. This redirection of energies without undue disruption of individual relation is, therefore, the big problem in rehabilitation. If this fact is not heeded, and the people's equilibrium is upset, those in disequilibrium may resist all cooperation with management, thus jeopardizing the success of the undertaking. The management of the project to be discussed, while redirecting the activities of their group were frequently well aware that certain policies might 'split the community wide open.' In the account to follow, considerable evidence will be presented indicating disturbances to the equilibrium of individuals and of

the community.

Just as the crux of the administration of rehabilitation and resettlement lies in the successful changing of people from one state of equilibrium to another, so the main problem of the research may be said to be concerned with recording and analyzing the changes in equilibrium.

## 2. Methods of Appraisal

Simply to record and analyze the situation was not enough, if the findings of the investigation were to be applied to an appraisal of the project and to a determination of a definite rehabilitation procedure. A basis for the appraisal was the first essential. Consequently, the first step was to find out exactly what were the objectives envisaged, what new manner of living management desired for the homesteaders. These objectives of management have already been mentioned, namely, the creation of a self-sufficient group of people, composed of individuals with initiative. The next step of the investigator was to determine what methods had been used to attain the desired equilibrium.

No detailed blueprint of the ends desired had been drawn; likewise no master plan of the means to be adopted was formulated. Instead management developed the project as they went along, more or less building and adding as they saw fit at a particular time. In their own language, they preferred to 'go as the way opens.' There was only one preconceived plan - namely, the combination of a subsistence with a cash economy. This idea was even more elastic than the combination of subsistence agriculture with industry, the original basic idea underlying the Government Subsistence Homesteads. The following quotation represents the management's point of view, except that the idea of handicraft subsistence production is not developed:

'This rehabilitation program enabling unemployed and partially employed miners to become self-supporting so that they need not apply for relief is based upon two approaches. First, to enable them to produce as much of their subsistence as possible, so that they could maintain a high standard of comfort on a low cash income basis. Second, to retrain them for new skills from which they can derive supplementary income.

'Each family can produce its own vegetables, both summer and winter supply, eggs, a large portion of its meat and arrange for its supply of milk through the community dairy. In addition to this subsistence production, cash income must be obtained. As long as the miners

can get work in the mines on a part-time basis, this will provide their income. As the mines are exhausted, new sources of income will have to be developed.'

Let us now see what was actually being accomplished and review the initial steps taken by management. Let us see, moreover, what they hoped to accomplish thereby, and what their logic was for so doing, as gleaned from subsequent interviews and written statements.

The first really important step was the decision that the undertaking should be a small community resettlement project. The community was kept small, i.e., 50 families, for it was felt that a small undertaking could be more easily handled and would naturally cost less. By choosing resettlement rather than rehabilitation of an existing community, it was thought that, among other advantages, first, there would be an opportunity to weed out the less desirable families, and second, the community resistance to change would be less. In other words, it would be easier to bring people to a new way of life in a new environment than to try to modify the fixed habits of those who were part of an established community. Another reason for resettlement was the opportunity for the homesteaders to acquire new skills in the 'self-help' construction program.

This initial decision in favor of resettlement naturally predetermined a long chain of subsequent events, many of them inevitable. Obviously the program would involve the homesteaders in a general community construction period that would last for several years and would consume most of the energies of the men. The following quotations from published statements bring out the point of view of management:

'The construction of a house by a man and his family is not only an economic method of procedure but it creates an attitude of mind which is the essence of rehabilitation.....

'The essence of rehabilitation is the building of confidence in one's self that one can meet new situations and do things which one never did before, i.e., self-help. Therefore, the construction of a house became the center of the rehabilitation program. It is a project in which all members of the family can participate. It tends to arouse feelings of pride, loyalty and hope as few other activities do. The construction of the houses by the men themselves was more than a construction job. It was the core of the educational program. The fact that the stone

houses required a longer construction period was a good educational procedure.'

In short, then, the house-building program would, among other things, distinctly contribute to family and community cooperation and self-sufficiency, to the development of skills and, doubtless, of leadership. In fact, it would become the great unifying activity.

The farm also was started at the beginning of the project. Here, too, the reasons given emphasized re-training. The following quotation enlarges on the purposes of the farm:

'The undivided portion of the farm is being cultivated by the management. The purpose of this program is to produce cash crops, to improve the land by a system of proper crop rotation, and to teach the leaseholders approved agricultural methods. A tested poultry flock has been started. Some of the men are beginning chicken projects. A few will have sufficient aptitude and develop enough special skill to become successful poultry raisers. A registered dairy herd is being developed. The farm program is providing some employment. In addition, it enables those who are unemployed to obtain milk and eggs in exchange for their labor.'

The farm, then, was to be both a commercial venture and an educational institution. An additional concept, not mentioned above, was that it would be primarily useful in supplying such cooperative services as ploughing, marketing, etc. In other words, it would gear into the subsistence agricultural features of the project. Briefly, it was conceived of as an active institution distinctly promoting the economic as well as the social self-sufficiency of the community.

Although not introduced at the beginning of the project in the spring of 1937, but later in the winter of 1938, hand-loom weaving was inaugurated to assure further economic self-sufficiency. From the report quoted above are also the following remarks about this venture:

'Weaving is being started with a skilled weaver of long experience in charge. It is expected that special skills will be developed and aptitudes discovered, so that most of the families can produce a great many useful articles for their homes. Some will be able to sell their produce to obtain a cash income.'

Here again, the weaving program was designed to promote economic self-sufficiency and to develop skill. In addition, as in the case of agriculture and house

construction, it was planned that it should play an important role in strengthening family self-sufficiency and cooperation.

Finally, the cooperative store and the Community Association with all its subsidiary committees, clubs, etc. must be noted. The homesteaders had an opportunity to participate in the management of the store, since it was designed to have its customer as stockholders, with only one vote per stockholder. The store, therefore, could be a means of promoting considerably both homesteader leadership and community self-sufficiency. In regard to the functions of the Community Association and the subsidiary organizations, the following statement is illuminating:

'A community association has been organized, composed of all leaseholders. A mere enumeration of the committees and activities will serve to indicate the way in which these families, who have so recently come together, are being welded into a community; social, library, and store committees; boy and girl scouts; mothers' club and garden club. Through these various activities, these people, who have had almost no experience in community organization, are learning not only the theory but are practising cooperation and mutual helpfulness.

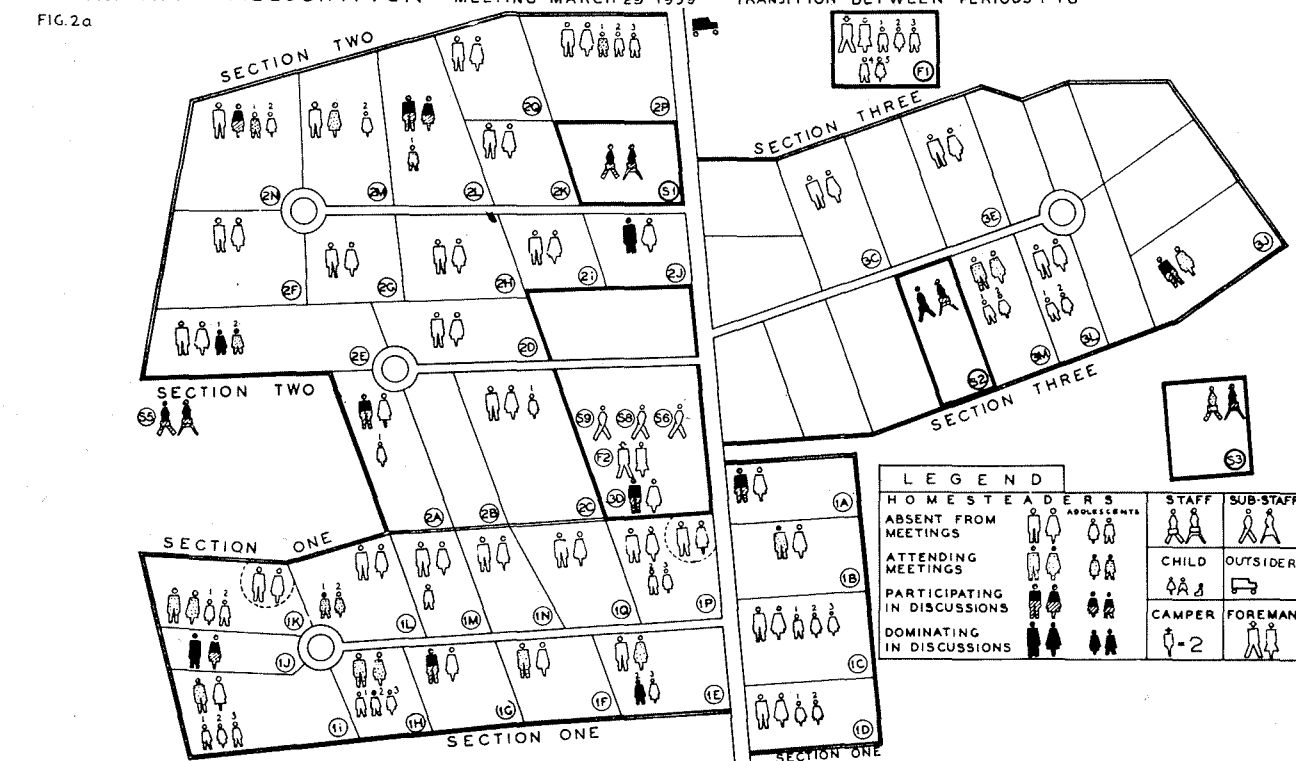
Little more need be added to make evident the strong desire of management to promote community activities and leadership, thus furthering the social and economic self-sufficiency of the community.

Implicit in some of the above statements is the idea of group action. That this idea is related to that of democratic processes is indicated in the following passage from a pamphlet evaluating the experiences of the project:

'Although the residents of mining patches and company coal towns live closely together, they are about as devoid of social and community activities as any group of people can be. Coal miners outside of their union activities have little experience in group community life or in the democratic processes of self-government. They have not had the kind of experience which enables them to fit easily into a community which is trying to use the democratic process as a means of community education.'

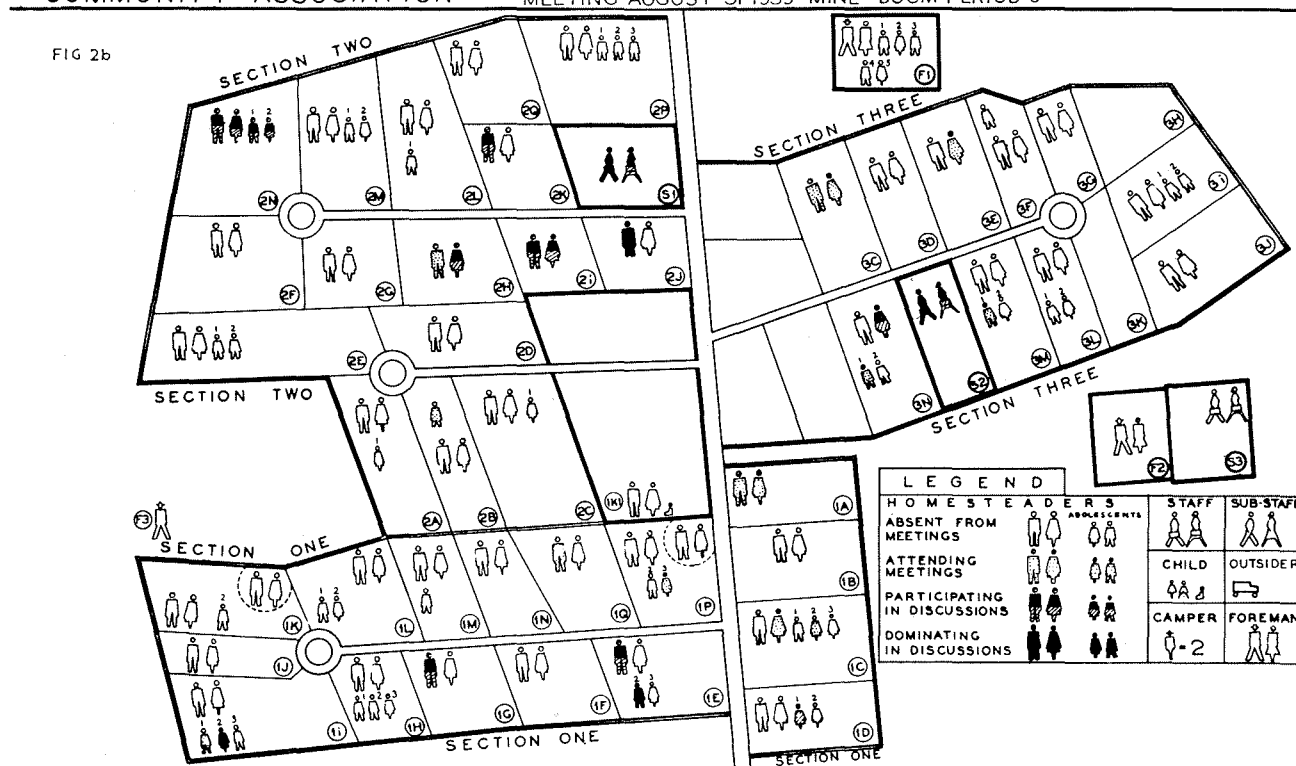
The phrase, 'democratic processes of self-government', can be translated and restated in many other ways, as for instance, 'the rule of the majority', 'government of the people, for the people, by

COMMUNITY ASSOCIATION MEETING MARCH 29 1939 TRANSITION BETWEEN PERIODS F+G  
FIG. 2a



COMMUNITY ASSOCIATION MEETING AUGUST 31 1939 MINE BOOM PERIOD J

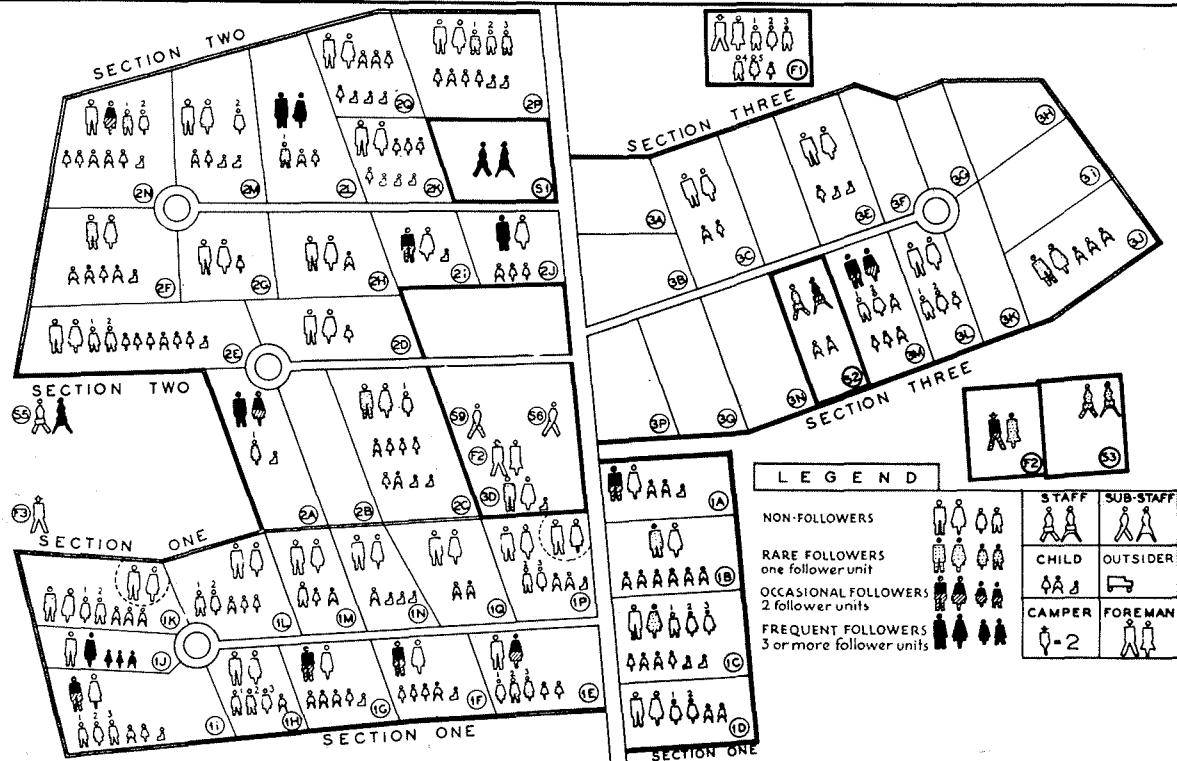
FIG 2b





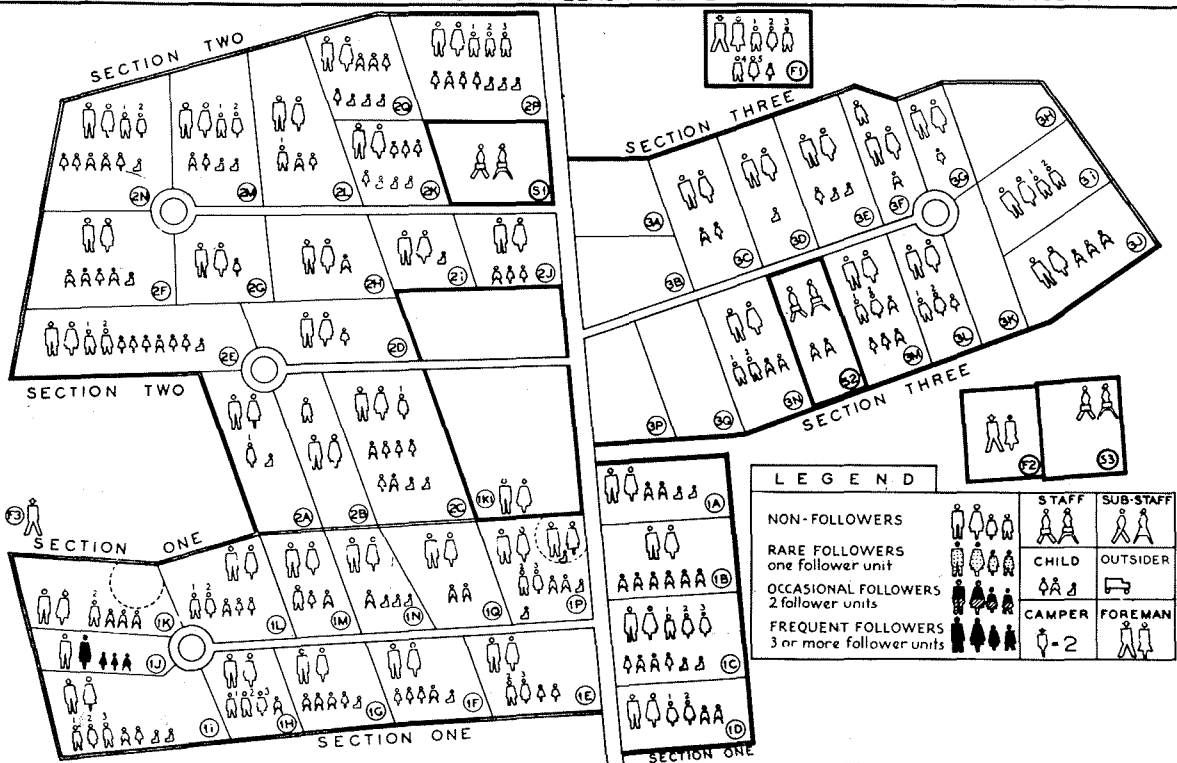
## FOLLOWERS OF MAN LEADER 1J LAST TWO WEEKS OF MARCH 1939 START OF FACTORY PERIOD F

FIG. 3a



## FOLLOWERS OF MAN LEADER 1J FIRST TWO WEEKS OF SEPTEMBER 1939 MINE BOOM PERIOD J

FIG. 3b



the people', etc. In terms of human relations described above, the phrase is taken to mean that followers are not only to participate in group meetings and activities and select their leaders, but also upon occasion to speak to their leaders and tell them what they, the followers, think ought to be done. And if a majority of these followers agree on a course of action, they are to cooperate to see that their leaders act according to the majority's decree. In other words, to balance the dominance of the leaders, the followers are expected, within limits, to reverse the lines of authority.

Mention should be made here of the Field Staff, the representatives of management, who were responsible for carrying out the policies and for leading the homesteaders away from the old paths of insecurity to a new and relatively secure existence. In doing this, the Staff was to take particular care to assume only a minimum amount of leadership in order to encourage homesteader initiative. Over a period of years, it was planned that the balance of leadership would tip in the direction of the homesteaders, until the latter finally would take over complete charge of their own community.

The following tabulation will help to fix in mind the various objectives and the means employed. Some of the objectives were conceived of after the start of the project.

#### I. Objectives (ends)

##### 1. Relative Economic and Social Self-Sufficiency for:

- each of 50 families
- the community as a whole

##### 2. Proficiency in Many Skills for All Homesteaders

##### 3. Leaders Should Not Overweight the Balance of Leadership

- management leadership should progressively diminish
- homesteader leadership should progressively increase
- followers should delimit the dominance of leaders

#### II. Steps to Achieve Objectives - Organizations Introduced (means)

1. Field Staff
2. Construction
3. Farm
4. Cooperative Store
5. Community Association et al
6. Weaving

From a knowledge of both the means and the ends employed, it becomes possible to make an ap-

praisal. In other words, at any given time, by contrasting the existing equilibrium with that desired, it is possible to see how closely the actual achievement approximates the goal. However valuable an appraisal for one period of time may be, a far more useful appraisal is one indicating the trend in developments - the historical growth. Therefore a method had to be devised for determining the direction in which the project was going, whether toward or away from the ultimate goal.

Even during the writer's survey of one year, many changes took place in the relations between homesteaders and in the equilibrium of the community. The introduction of new people and of new methods, fluctuations in mine employment, and even seasonal change, brought about, in varying degree, changes in the relationships of everyone in the community.

At various times throughout the year, the writer noted a change in the equilibrium of the entire community, while between these times of major change, the relations between the people appeared to remain relatively constant. It was decided, therefore, to find a basis for dividing the history of the project into periods. To do this, all important events and their dates were plotted on a chart. The events chosen as important were those causing sudden changes in the activities of more than approximately 10 people. The method revealed that most of these changes occurred in clusters confined to a period of about a month. Almost every cluster consisted of at least three changes. Each cluster became, therefore, the core of a different period. Since there was no definite day or hour at which one period ended and another began, transition periods were introduced. During the year under consideration, five major periods were distinguished, each one characterized by a particular activity and a particular season, as follows:

Fall 1938 - Factory Construction

Winter 1939 - Start of Factory Work

Spring 1939 - Closing of Mines

Summer 1939 - 50 Young Work Campers Live on the Project

Fall 1939 - Mine Boom

Once the periods were established, the next step was to devise a method for comparing the changes accurately. It was finally decided to take a sample of two weeks from each period and to record all the important events in these two periods in such a way that the sample periods could be easily compared. To facilitate comparison between periods, it was necessary to systematize the type of material

collected.

In order to determine the equilibrium of the community, the daily, weekly, monthly and seasonal routine relations of its people had to be ascertained. It was particularly important to know routine relations in the various organizations both inside and outside the project. The principal discriminations made were: first, participants vs. non-participants, and second, leaders vs. followers. To record the participants in the various organizational activities was a relatively easy matter, merely requiring observation, interviews, and the copying of attendance lists. The discriminations as to leadership, however, were less obvious. Intuitively one recognizes leaders in various ways: for instance, they are usually prominent at meetings and get others to do things. Recordings, therefore, were made of those people who were repeatedly successful in persuading others to follow their wishes, as in supervising workers, for example. A record was also made of those who spoke up at gatherings and dominated meetings, either by appropriating a large proportion of the time by making long pronouncements, or by speaking up frequently. Finally, to reduce all this mass of detail, the concept of 'leadership units' was devised to indicate the number of followers a leader guided within a given time. A 3-4 hour period in a day was used as the time unit in analyzing the data, as it seemed the unit best fitted to bring out the important discriminations. Thus, if during a 3-4 hour period in a day, one leader supervised 10 others or dominated a meeting at which 10 others were present, he was considered to have 10 leadership units for that day. In order to compare one period with another, the total number of leadership units of each leader during the sample two-week periods were added up. The method, admittedly rough and somewhat lengthy, served the purpose, however, of checking the investigator's guesses. He was somewhat surprised by certain outstanding uniformities which otherwise would have escaped him, such as the constancy of Staff supervision.

A few examples of the type of material gathered are included that show changes from one period to another. (See Figs. 2 and 3.) One pair, Fig. 2a and 2b, shows the attendance, participation, and dominance of people at the Community Association meetings; the other pair, Fig. 3a and 3b, shows the changes in the number of followers of a particular leader.

After the information had been systematically collected and recorded, it became apparent that; (1) the changes in one organization were re-

lated to changes in others. As a leader lost his following in one organization, he sought to gain one in another, unconsciously trying in this manner presumably to restore his equilibrium. Sometimes such attempts resulted in disturbances to the equilibrium of others, who in turn disturbed more people, and so on, until on some occasions a major community crisis developed. (2) In other cases, a new arrival or a departure caused widespread change. It was also noted that (3) technological and (4) environmental changes seriously affected the relations between people, as, for instance, changes in house construction methods, as well as seasonal temperature changes to be described later. It was essential therefore, to record all four types of pertinent information.

To gather detailed information, the writer participated informally in the life of the community, acquiring personal familiarity with the scene. In addition, conscious observations and interviews were noted and written records consulted. The data were recorded with varying degrees of precision, depending upon the different institutions studied. Less detail was gathered, for example on the individual 50 families and the numerous cliques, particularly those of the children, since from the point of view of community planning these aspects of community life were considered the least important. In addition to the routine procedure for sampling the total system of relations, special details were collected whenever a particular problem or crisis arose.

The history of the project from the fall of 1938 to the fall of 1939 will now be described, stressing the main characteristics of the periods into which it is divided. For the purposes of this report, detailed description has been omitted, except, of course, when needed as evidence for the conclusions. An analysis of the conditions and suggestions for their betterment have also been included. To eliminate personal prejudice and blind guessing from the picture, all suggestions are based upon the following two assumptions: (1) the desirability of attaining the goals already outlined as effectively and speedily as possible; (2) the importance of appraising all changes in terms of the total changes occurring, and not in terms of any single benefit or harm derived. That is, all changes in the social and economic relations of homesteaders are appraised according to their total effect on the equilibrium of the whole community.

Finally, it is worth reiterating that the main purpose of this study as designed by management

was to develop better rehabilitation methods for use in the future. This could only be done if the experience gained on this project was subjected to careful scrutiny. The analysis which follows, therefore, is not an appraisal of the success or failure of the project, for this decision can only be made some time in the next few years. The present analysis is for the sole purpose of seeing what has been learned and can be applied in future work and what should be avoided. By so doing, management will have available a body of evidence by which it can make rehabilitation more effective.

### C. DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS BY PERIODS

#### 1. Factory Construction (Fall) and Start of Factory (Winter)

The most significant changes in the fall of 1938 and the winter of 1939 revolved about the factory, and the periods are accordingly referred to as **FACTORY CONSTRUCTION** and the **START OF FACTORY OPERATIONS**. In fact, the repercussions set in motion by this endeavour to establish an enterprise which would strengthen the economic self-sufficiency of the community were more far-reaching than management had ever anticipated.

Prior to the factory, the only effort to provide a source of cash income had been hand-loom weaving. This handicraft, however, had been instituted perhaps even more especially to encourage homesteaders to use family looms for making their own clothes, blankets, etc. It was hoped that weaving, like agriculture, could be both a subsistence and a commercial enterprise. In theory, the double proposition sounds attractive, but according to competent textile men and others consulted by the writer, the commercial possibilities are uninviting. The latter suspicion proved justified. After a year's stay, the weaver had trained only one adolescent boy. The numerous reasons for this meager success included a protracted illness of the weaver himself, his apparent belief that weaving was not a woman's job, and the lack of spare time among the homesteaders. Most of the men were busy on construction and most of the women had large families of young children to tend anyway. Thus, whether or not it was a poor commercial risk, the timing of its development for subsistence purposes was, to say the least, unfortunate.

The idea of the sweater factory was first presented to the homesteaders at a special meeting at which a member of the top management outlined the plan. He proposed that each homestead family should donate 100 hours of work toward building the factory, which would aggregate a total of 5000 hours.

If the homesteaders would contribute the labor, the top management would raise \$15,000 capital. The proposal was voted on and accepted. Soon thereafter the ground-breaking ceremony took place. The chairman of the Community Association officiated, and after the initial work on the foundation, a weiner roast for all members of the community was held on the factory site.

From the middle of October until the middle of December most of the work crews, which had been scattered about the project building houses, were concentrated on the factory construction. The work progressed speedily, and the homesteaders were thrown together more frequently than ever before. Even the high school boys turned out in force on Saturdays and holidays to make sand for cement with the stone crusher, so that the teamwork of the men laying stone would not be broken up. Just before the first heavy freeze, the masonry and cement floor were finished. Finally, in the cold weather of mid-December, everyone, including the writer, was marshalled to finish shingling the roof. By that time, after two months of intensive teamwork, a marked spirit of cooperation and pride in accomplishment had developed among the homesteaders, and also a pride in their part ownership of the enterprise to which they had contributed their labor.

The completion of the factory was capped by a dedication ceremony, which included many speeches by the Staff and by outsiders, as well as two plays, one an advertisement for the cooperative store. After the formal ceremony, the Mothers' Club served refreshments and an orchestra played for many groups of square dancers. The largest number of homesteaders ever present on any one occasion appeared, dressed in their best holiday clothes. The atmosphere was alive with friendliness and conviviality.

The construction of the factory had succeeded where the weaving enterprise had failed, in banding together the homesteaders in cooperative effort. Furthermore, the construction had done much to fulfill another of management's original aims; it had helped the homesteaders to acquire a variety of useful skills. The new experiences of dealing with an apparently selfless management, interested in their welfare alone, and of constructing a factory in which they themselves were in a sense stockholders had served to strengthen the esprit de corps to which the two months' activity and the ceremonies all testify. As subsequent events proved, this bond was, in the next period, to work against the interests of the new factory management. A few days after the dedication

ceremony, the knitting machines arrived - forerunner of many conflicts and bitter disappointments so soon to follow.

The first decision of the factory foreman started a chain of controversy. No sooner was the machinery set up than he hired as cutter a recent resident, the son of the carpentry foreman, whom he considered the most promising young man available. But objections were immediately raised by both homesteaders and Staff, for he was a non-homesteader. The matter was thrashed out in formal meetings, and wherever on the project people happened to gather. The foreman refused to give in. He not only had the utmost confidence in his ability to choose good workers but, and more important, he never questioned his prerogative in the matter. His only concession was to take on several homestead youths as apprentices for other jobs. A strike was threatened before anyone had even begun to work.

The next problem was training the employees. They not only had to learn the necessary skills, but also how to work together as an effective production group in order to stay in business. Nine people were trained as an apprentice group during the first three weeks, but when production started only two were employed, as that was all the first operation of winding yarn required. The next operations, knitting and cutting, each called for about two more people. Thus after a few days, although a non-homesteader was working, the bulk of the trainees were still unemployed. They protested vehemently. A member of top management was sent for to straighten out the matter. He tried to persuade the factory manager and foreman to fire the non-homesteader. This was refused. Factory management retaliated; they suggested admitting the boy and his family as homesteaders. This the Project Manager refused. The foreman then threatened to leave, saying that business should take precedence over 'community sentimentality.' As the factory manager knew of no other foreman and as there were no other mills within several hundred miles, it is not surprising that the original cutter was kept on.

However vital the foreman may have been in fact, several homesteaders remained dissatisfied and were unimpressed by the apparent indispensability of the foreman. As one homesteader said: 'The Manager say he canna get nobody else. What a matter anyhow. He ain't the only feller make sweaters. Montgomery Ward and all other stores have sweaters. Foreman not make them all. If he die, everaone freeze?'

It was unfortunate that the management when

explaining the factory plan to the homesteaders had stressed the idea that the undertaking was primarily for the homesteaders' benefit. Responding favorably, the homesteaders gave concrete proof of their intentions; they became shareholders by contributing their hours of labor free. What were they to think when the factory foreman by his selection of employees demonstrated that the factory was not primarily a place for them to work in but rather a business for making money for other people? The economic security promised for individuals and families was now taken away. The relationships which the homesteaders had expected to establish through work and the spending of their anticipated wages were now threatened. They had been deluded. Top management and the original field staff had misrepresented the function of the factory, and the factory management in turn misrepresented the aims of top management.

An inevitable result of building the factory was the cessation of the stone house construction program, as cement cannot be worked profitably in freezing conditions. This was a decided hardship for most of the families; for the largest ones it was a severe trial. During the warm weather, people spent much time out-of-doors, and there was no undue strain on family relationships; but confined as they were during the winter months, the family relations were forcibly intensified, straining the family harmony. The miners, who had been used to living in four-room houses in the 'patches', now found themselves imprisoned in one-room chicken coops, where the family cooking stove could keep them warm. The brooder houses, which were usually detached from the main 'shack', were usually unheated. The evening scene commonly included the sleeping younger children, the adolescents amusing themselves in lively fashion and being repeatedly admonished by their parents, while in the least conspicuous corner, a daughter of the house would often be trying to entertain her 'steady' boy friend. For the large families this was nothing less than bedlam. One homestead girl, from a family of five children, said: 'Here (i.e. the project) there is no privacy. The small houses are getting on our nerves. There is no place for my father to sleep in the day when he has to work on the night shift. They promised us houses about a year ago.'

The mother of a large family of children of all ages felt more strongly, saying: 'In town where we lived for years I had good friends. I don't go to see them any more. I don't want them to know how I live - two rooms for my big family. Now I'm tell-

ing you!' in short, the aim of family self-sufficiency had been overreached.

To escape from this confusion, repeatedly punctuated by parental discipline, the young were 'driven' to redirect their energies elsewhere. Fortunately there happened to be an obvious outlet in the numerous activities carried on in the only other warm gathering place, the Community Center. There, in order to fill in the hours left idle by the cessation of construction, management had been instrumental in promoting a great number of community enterprises. Weekly meetings of different organizations were scheduled for almost every evening: Monday night, adolescent singing; Tuesday night, quiet games; Wednesday night, either the Homesteaders Association or the Staff meeting; Thursday morning, the baby clinic; Friday night, the Boy Scouts and the Junior Council; Saturday night, a dance; Sunday night, a non-sectarian religious discussion group. In addition to these regular weekly meetings, there were fortnightly, monthly, and other gatherings, such as a series of talks by the State Agricultural Extension Service, and a series of meetings to promote the cooperative store.

Both old and young joined in these organizations, although in general the parents were less in evidence. In this redirection of activity, the disequilibrium of the family and of the community through cessation of construction was in large part averted. However, it is not irrelevant to point out that the strain to which the families were put was an almost unavoidable circumstance, inherent in the original decision to start a new community.

The initial choice of resettlement committed the experiment to a considerable building program. The decision to build of stone rather than wood necessarily retarded the building program. The difficulty of handling the material and the inadvisability of working cement in winter both interrupted the house-building program, and the factory construction retarded it still further. Regarding the use of stone, the following statement was published by management:

'It was estimated that a stone house could be constructed at about the same cost as a frame house, if the stone could be quarried by the homesteaders on their time. This would, however, increase the man-hours necessary to construct the houses and extend the building program over a much longer period of time. Since stone houses are more substantial, and require less upkeep, it was finally decided to use stone construction, though it required more time.'

A fuller appraisal of management's choice in regard to construction will appear in the conclusion.

The increased associational activity and the introduction of the factory did not, however, result in a notable overall increase in Staff leadership. Not only had Staff supervision in the construction work necessarily lessened, but also two prominent Staff leaders had left the project for good. The void in leadership was in part filled by homesteaders; one took over the Boy Scouts, another the library (i.e., one room in the Community Center where books donated could be taken out); a third assumed charge of the Junior Girls Club; and a fourth a Girls' class in the Sunday Evening Forums. The redistribution of leadership was further accentuated by the yearly election of new officers for the Community Association and its subsidiaries. Especially noteworthy was the new homestead leader elected chairman of the Community Association, the principal legislative body and parent of almost all other community organizations, management excepted.

The assumption of leadership by these people was a distinct step toward the desired goal of complete homesteader leadership. Likewise the diverting of activities to the community associations and the introduction of the sweater factory furthered the attainment of community self-sufficiency. But inherent in the introduction of the sweater factory were many complicating factors. In the first place, the mere fact that wage scales were lower than in the mines made it necessary to make the factory more attractive in other ways; if not the young fellows could be easily inveigled into leaving to work in the mines and the women might lose interest in working when their husbands were employed full-time in mining. But however attractive management made the factory, the main economic problem of the community would not be solved, because only women and adolescents were employed in the factory, leaving the main wage earner of the family still dependent on coal mining. The employment of women and adolescents would necessarily curtail the family labor available for subsistence gardening and handicraft. Did not this, therefore, represent a conflict in aims between cash and subsistence production? A customary spring slump in factory production would relieve the situation somewhat, but again, since most of the women had large families of young children, was it desirable to stop the nursery school just when the factory was starting up? In short, a consideration of all the repercussions of the sweater factory on family life was overlooked, or at least postponed. The factory might in the end become a

successful economic enterprise, making for greater community self-sufficiency, but at the possible expense of family self-sufficiency.

## 2. Closed Mine Period (Spring)

This period is characterized by the changes brought about by the arrival of warm spring weather and by the closing of the mines because of the failure of the operators and the U.M.W. to reach an agreement. The return of warm weather made it possible to resume house construction, as it was again feasible to work cement, but the frozen clayey soil had been turned into a quagmire by the spring rains, and this made transportation of materials for construction difficult. There was great activity at the farm, what with additional leased acreage, spring planting, and the purchase of new livestock. The factory, however, was suffering from the spring slump customary in the sweater industry; work was almost at a standstill. The cooperative store business improved, as the families had about exhausted their stock of home-canned goods. The intensive family and associational life, however, was distinctly curtailed as the people took advantage of the warmer, longer days to convene in informal groups out-of-doors. In their newly expanded environment, freed from the restraints of constant association with the same people within the same four walls, almost everyone seemed gayer and more light-hearted. In the preceding fall the homesteaders in the same manner had spent much time outdoors. This life had been interrupted by the winter when the relations within the family group were forcibly intensified. These seasonal changes demonstrate that the family relations of homesteaders were in equilibrium, in other words, there was a return to a former state following a temporary change.\* This evidence supports the theory advanced above that the relations between individuals and groups attain a state of equilibrium. Further evidence will be briefly noted later.

The increase in construction work and store business brought about by the spring was given an added impetus by the closing of the mines, cessa-

tion of credit at the company stores, and the substitution of Government relief checks. Consequently the homesteaders had plenty of spare hours for the construction and enough ready cash to increase their patronage of the local cooperative store.

The strain of living conditions of the past winter was fresh in the homesteaders' minds, and the family pressure on the men and grown boys to build the permanent houses must have been considerable. They now had a golden opportunity to get ahead with the houses.

At this time, some homesteaders and management took steps to avert a crisis which had been impending since the previous fall when the masonry work ceased. The problem arose from the dissatisfaction of the homesteaders with the sequence in which the stone houses were being constructed. They were being built up in serial sequence, down one side of a road and up the other. Perhaps the most important reason for this order had been a practical engineering one; the equipment, such as cement mixers and forms for laying stone, had only to be moved from one lot to the adjacent one. Certain unforeseen human difficulties, however, offset the theoretical engineering advantages. The project was divided into three sections, each centered around one or two dead-end roads. As it happened, one section was being built up first in this serial sequence, since the families to whom it was assigned had been on the project longer. Several of the men in this section, nevertheless, notably those with small families, often failed to turn out for work. As their chicken coops were not overcrowded, the normal rhythm of their family life was not unduly disturbed. The family pressure on the husband to build, therefore, was doubtless negligible; also, the houses obviously would soon be built by the regular work crews, whether he worked or not. Although certain hard-working men in another section in self-denial had sponsored the scheme, they were thoroughly irritated by what amounted to no less than rewarding the negligence of the idle. Now that work was being resumed, a new order of building had to be devised if a crisis was to be averted, particularly since one of the next houses in sequence belonged to a homesteader who practically never worked.

The new system was based on the number of hours a man had to his credit. When a new house was to be started, it would be that of the homesteader who had by then accumulated the most hours. This plan offered an incentive for most to work and eliminated the evils of the other system. The only new difficulties were minor ones, such as the prac-

\*A state of equilibrium may be said to exist under the following conditions:

- (1) A system, as, for instance, an individual or group, becomes modified not too greatly.
- (2) Reaction or compensatory changes set in resulting in (3) the approximate restoration of the original state.

For a fuller discussion see Pareto's General Sociology, A Physiologist's Interpretation, Lawrence J. Henderson, Harvard Univ. Press, 1937, p. 46, 110-115.



tice of trading the use of automobiles and the like for sufficient credit hours to put one's house next on the list. The technical disadvantages were more than offset by the improved relations between the homesteaders. In fact, this solution devised was in almost every respect an excellent example of a self-regulating objective procedure. It was sufficiently satisfactory to a large enough majority to prevent serious objections. The people who did the work were the ones to be rewarded. They included all the more faithful participants in the organizations, the ones who formed a kind of nuclear group, who in the language of management had 'earned their right to speak.' To have withheld the houses from these people, the main standbys of the organization, would have been to ignore the human situation and invite disaster. The main disadvantage of the system was that the large families, whose equilibrium was under the greatest strain, were not automatically included. But unfortunately there is rarely one cure-all, and this system served the purpose of more nearly fitting the techniques of the organization to the existing human situation.

No sooner had this new policy been inaugurated than a surfeit of labor, resulting from the closing of the mines, created fresh difficulties, namely, inefficient expansion of work crews plus inadequate supervision. The large number of men employed on masonry so speeded up that operation that bottlenecks in surveying sites, excavating basements, etc. were created. The surveying and layout of construction were all done by one man, and he had so much else to do that excavations were delayed. Furthermore, excavations depended largely upon a horsedrawn scoop and the horses were in constant use ploughing the customary and newly-leased additional acreage of the farm. Several times, there were not enough basements to scatter the work crews efficiently. To provide the necessary supervision, the masonry foreman, for the first time, was obliged to devote all his attention to this duty. Fortunately one of the new homesteaders was a professional mason who was, therefore, able to take charge of a second crew.

It should be noted here that the surplus of construction workers offered an excellent opportunity to develop leadership among the homesteaders. Possibly this may have occurred at the end of the period, after the writer had left the project. At the beginning, little if any, preparation was made for taking care of the leadership shortages - despite the preannounced possibility of a protracted mine closure. The simultaneous urgent need for the horse

teams both for excavating basements and for the added spring farm work is another example of dividing energies to accomplish more than one end. Was it wise to expand the farm operations at this time? Could not the farm have fulfilled as useful a function without expansion? Since management had been forewarned of the possibility of a protracted work stoppage at the mines, it would seem that they might have made better provision for these contingencies and have taken full advantage of the situation to develop homesteader leadership and eliminate construction bottlenecks. By this time, there were sure to be several homesteaders fairly skilled in various construction operations. Some even showed promise of leadership. But by the very nature of the credit-hour system, the faithful, the ones who worked most regularly and longest were those who finished their houses first. With this accomplished and their debit hours paid up, there was no more reason for them to work. In this manner, a few skilled workers and promising leaders were lost. Anticipating a deficiency of skilled workers, management during the preceding winter had trained some beginners in such operations as electric wiring. Unfortunately it is easier to train people in mechanical and technical skills than in leadership. This forfeiture of skilled workers and incipient leaders due to the short-lived construction program was one further consequence stemming from the decision to start a new community.

The greatly increased sales of the cooperative store have been mentioned above. Ordinarily the men bought on credit at the company stores, but now with the mines closed, their credit at these stores was insufficient, and they spent their Government relief cheques at the cooperative. This increase in patronage increased the sales over 70% i.e., from \$700 to \$1200. Thus the success of the store, as well as that of other community organizations, almost completely depended upon the functioning of outside organizations such as the mines and relief agencies.

Since most of the activities of the homesteaders were concentrated within the project, the ultimate goal of management was distinctly stimulated. But the similarity, being almost completely fortuitous, was doomed to be short-lived. The condition of complete unemployment and consequent dependence upon project activities was bound to last only until the union and the operators signed an agreement.

In contrast to the hyper-activity in house construction and store business, the factory and the



associational activities dwindled to a minimum, as has been briefly mentioned. In the factory only a few helpers were hired to make samples, and this virtual shut-down more than substantiated in the minds of the homesteaders the bad impression made at the beginning of operations in the previous period. The fact that the closing down was almost inevitable because of the customary slack spring season did not reassure the semi-trained and thoroughly skeptical employees; and the effect on some of the young fellows was demoralizing. What were the unemployed homesteaders to think of a low-paying industry with practically no business, run by a management who, they felt, discriminated against them? The start of operations could perhaps have been better timed. Had management waited until the slack spring season to train operators in preparation for the fall orders, the employees might have been kept continuously employed for several months; their routines would have been built up rather than interrupted and there would have been less danger to morale. Moreover, if the factory construction had been postponed until the following spring, there would have been time to finish some of the stone houses and some of the families, at least, would have been spared the winter in the chicken coops. Possibly, however, the summer and fall sweater production could not have been undertaken. There was an obvious conflict of purpose between the house construction and the factory construction. It is not always possible to accomplish everything simultaneously.

The supervised social and recreational activities, particularly those of adolescents, likewise, had little success. Certain restrictions and leadership difficulties were responsible. As already mentioned, the coming of spring relieved the strain on family relations, which in turn automatically eliminated the need for the compensatory function filled by the various associations. After dropping out of such associations as Monday Night Singing and the Young People's Council, the young fellows spontaneously started a recreational life more to their own liking, including baseball, loafing gangs, etc. It was not long, however, before some wanted to run the baseball team one way and some another - in short, leadership was divided. Such minor attempts as some individual Staff members made to encourage the boys were nullified by the generally negative attitude of management and the objections of certain homesteaders to Sunday baseball and to the swearing which characterized the games.

Another obstacle to an undisturbed recrea-

tional and social life for the young homesteaders was created by the aversion of the whites to association with the young colored homesteaders, particularly at the Saturday Night Dances. Only a few colored adolescents were present at each dance, but they were sufficient to antagonize many of the young whites. The Staff detected a possible outbreak, and called a meeting at which management laid down the law that no racial prejudice would be tolerated; that those who objected to the colored people need not attend the dances. The Staff held another meeting exclusively for the colored families. There it was stated that if the colored people did not continue to attend, it would be an admission of defeat and an unwarranted boon to the whites' prestige. As a result, the dances were soon discontinued for lack of attendance.

Thus in associational life, as well as construction work, management continued to assume the same degree of dominance. In contrast, the homesteaders showed no advance. The fresh attempts of individual homesteaders to become leaders or to increase their existing leadership either failed or were offset by old leaders dropping out. Such attempts generally consisted in trying to organize various activities and in bringing questions and complaints to the attention of management. The colored controversy was only one example. In most cases the attempts were short-lived.

In spite of all attempts to forestall it, the decrease in the young people's activities became more and more marked until, as one youth said: 'Nothing goes on around here.' With more and more unsupervised time on their hands, due to the longer days and the lack of any organized recreational life, discontent became widespread, especially among the young homesteaders who had no paid jobs. They could labor on the construction work, but there was nothing in it personally for them - they weren't going to live in the community much longer if they could help it. What they wanted was cash - cash to buy a car, cash to take out girls, in short, cash for independence. Those who had jobs, at the factory, for instance, immediately bought cars and motorcycles on the installment plan and found girls outside the project. The flagrant disregard for thrift provoked all Staff members equally, as it was indicative of the attitude of the proverbial spendthrift and irresponsible miner.

Thus one result of the factory was to provide the homesteaders with money, which they used primarily to seek amusements outside the community in the various neighboring towns. An increase in

economic self-sufficiency, therefore, resulted in a decrease in social self-sufficiency. Disgusted with this situation, particularly since the factory was contributing to it, some of the Field Staff tried to tell the young homesteaders how to spend their earnings. The reaction of one youth was typical: 'No millionaire's going to tell me how I'm going to spend my money... we poor people have been dreaming all our lives how we would spend money, and if we get it, we're going to spend it the way we want. If we buy a car and we can't pay for all of it, we'll lose it - that's all.'

### 3. Work Camp and Mine Boom Periods

Immediately following the CLOSED MINE period, there was a transition period during which almost everyone returned to part-time work in the mines. Then followed the WORK CAMP period, which lasted almost all summer. In the matter of centralization of formal activities within the project and decentralization of family life, this period was similar to the CLOSED MINE period, but in other important respects the period differed. For one thing, the concentration of activities within the project during the summer was due to the many camp-sponsored activities in which certain younger homesteaders took part. In contrast, the adult men divided their working and recreational hours about evenly within and outside the project, whereas during the spring mine closure they spent almost all their time at the project. One important change was caused by the unprecedented number of orders received by the sweater factory, which made it necessary to employ a double shift. To get adequate labor, management had to go outside the project, a circumstance to be taken up later.

The work camp of the summer of 1939 consisted as before of about 50 young college boys and girls, a director, directress, cook-dietitian and nurse. Again the boys helped with the construction, more than doubling the work crews; some of the girls, conspicuous in their shorts, even helped with the haying and other farm work. Most of the girls, however, conducted informal classes for the homesteader girls and the younger boys. In addition, the campers patronized the farm and the cooperative store, almost doubling the sales of the latter. In the evenings they sponsored recreational activities such as baseball games and dances, for their own as well as the homesteaders' benefit, and, in short, provided a wealth of leaders.

Between the departure of the work camp and the fall, there was a short transition period. On September 1, 1939, the start of the war made inev-

itable a complete reversal of the situation at the project. The expansion of the steel business increased the demand for coal and coke, and an almost 100% reemployment of all adult homesteaders in the mines resulted. Construction crews on the project dwindled to a few people a day, sometimes only a man and two boys. The cooperative store sales slumped as the less thrifty families increasingly patronized the more expensive company stores with their convenient credit system, and the more economical were able with their ready cash to patronize the super-markets and chain stores in the neighboring towns.

The departure of the campers and the renewed mine employment inevitably caused a general decentralization of formal project activities, which was only partly compensated for by a revival of particular associations. For instance, the old Sunday Evening Forums were abandoned in favor of a mid-morning Sunday School, chiefly for the children. The attendance rose from the 15 to 30 faithful who attended the Forum to around 60 or more. Furthermore, outside leaders were brought in to guide the young boys in recreation, to continue the nursery school, and the like. This was largely due to the pressure exerted on the homesteaders and Staff by the campers.

The most active internal organizations during these periods, however, were the factory and the work camp, and the following account will be devoted mainly to these organizations.

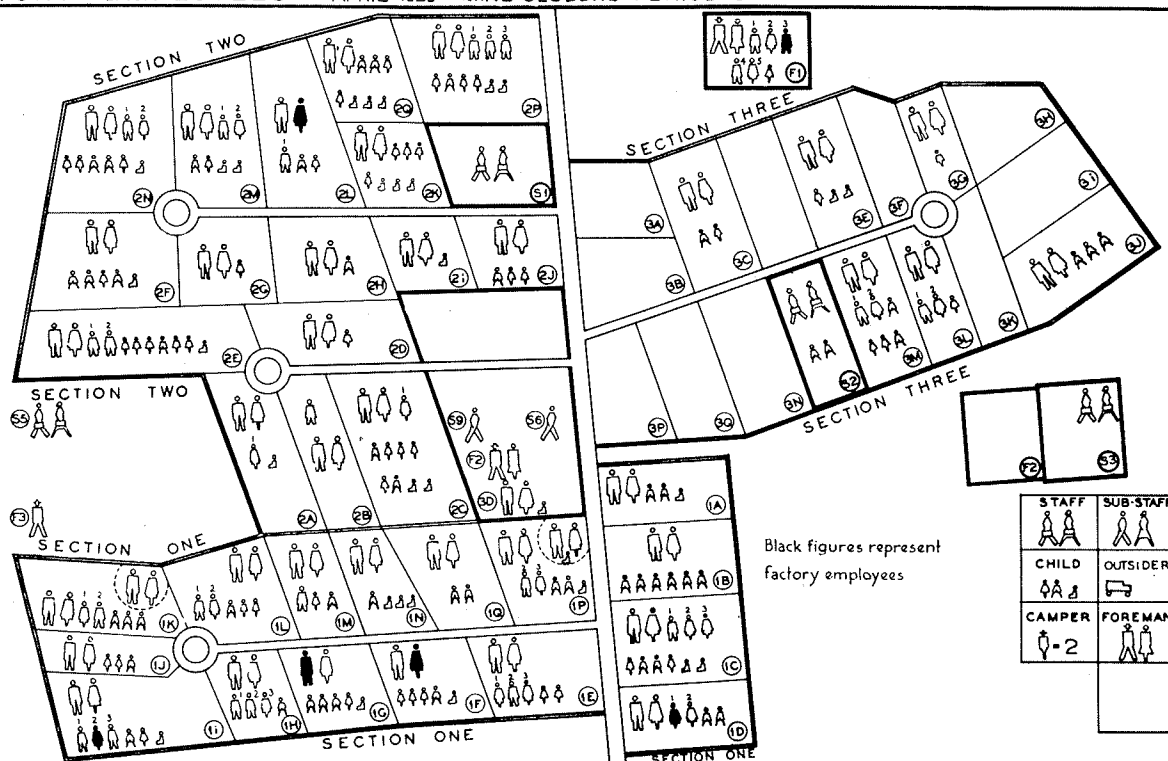
### THE FACTORY

The receipt of several large orders in late May and early June made immediate expansion necessary. (See figs. 4a and 4b, indicating the increase in number of factory employees over the previous period, the slack spring season.) This expansion immediately started a whole series of complications and crises, following directly on top of a crisis precipitated by the issue of building the factory foreman's house during the preceding period. After numerous communications by letter and telegram, as well as flying trips by top management and its representatives, the matter was settled and at the beginning of the WORK CAMP period, the foreman and his wife were living in their new home.

A further large increase in communication between the factory management and the rest of management, and homesteaders, was necessary in order to straighten out all the details involved in the larger orders. The discussions with top management were chiefly concerned with financing, the enlargement of the factory, and buying new machinery in order to

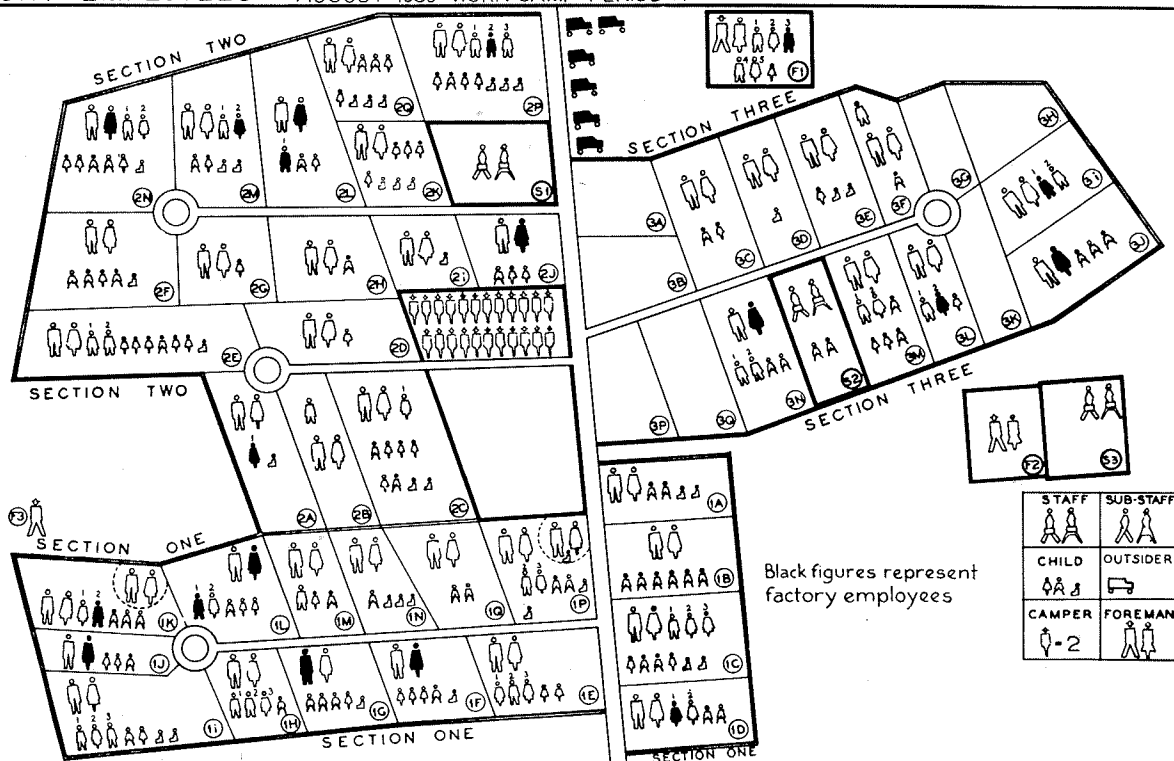
## FACTORY EMPLOYEES APRIL 1939 MINE CLOSURE PERIOD G

Fig. 4a



## FACTORY EMPLOYEES AUGUST 1939 WORK CAMP PERIOD H

Fig. 4b



balance production. More capital was required than had been anticipated, and to meet this emergency, top management decided to solicit donations, and prepared a brochure to describe the progress of the project to prospective subscribers; in the meantime they planned to borrow from some of their other funds. For the enlargement of the factory, the work campers provided a fortunate and timely labor supply.

The new addition made considerable difference to the production efficiency. In the original building space was cramped. The attic space was practically wasted, as the building was too low for a second floor. The only place to store supplies and finished goods was along the corridors, which made passage there very confused. And, to make matters worse, the packing and shipping was carried on in one of the busiest places, i.e., near the toilets, office and entrance. The extension provided adequate storage and straightened out the production flow considerably.

The labor policy was naturally a subject for Staff and homesteader discussions. The factory had to be operated more than full time, if the orders were to be filled, because there were not enough trained employees. Already operating at a loss because of inexperienced workers, inadequate markets, etc., the factory could never stay in business paying employees time-and-a-half for overtime as required by law. The one solution was a double shift, which the foreman felt could only be filled by outside labor. Anticipating vociferous objections this time, the foreman presented the proposition to the so-called factory committee, one of the administrative committees with dubious, undefined functions. After a short discussion, the proposition was approved and the matter was next laid before the main legislative body, the Community Association. No objections were voiced there. The foreman proceeded with his plan, but when several of the homesteaders were fired after a few days and before they felt they had been given a proper chance, the discontent grew again. The foreman wanted young, agile girls, of whom there was a dearth on the project; he refused to be forced to employ women whom he called 'too fat, old and muscle-bound.'

The discontented employees and their homesteader friends gathered in groups and aired their grievances. In general, they focussed their complaints on what they considered indiscriminate hiring and firing, and also the abrupt manners of the factory manager and foreman. They resented being found fault with and being told not to talk when work-

ing, etc. One woman was so upset by the foreman's gruff words to her and by his standing opposite her fixing a machine that she had to leave for several days in order to regain her composure. Telling about the incident, she said: 'Did you hear what he said - 'We are here to produce, this ain't no sewin' circle ...' is that the way to talk?' Similar grievances were common, so much so that many of the men vowed they would have nothing to do with the factory. One adult homesteader said: 'I never work in factory, for I sure tell 'em things if they treat me that way.' Continually listening to these complaints, the Staff and campers sympathized with the homesteaders' point of view.

In addition to these problems of labor, cramped space, and financing, the manager, because of his inexperience, did not at first know how to lay out the work most efficiently, and had to turn to the foreman for advice. Moreover, he had to be office boy and salesman as well as manager, and probably he had too much to do. As for the foreman, he was caught between his boss, the employees, and the community. Completely out of sympathy with his associates, he not infrequently gave way to his pent-up emotions by loosing a tirade of abuse at the employees. The only other way he was able to get the whole business out of his system was to go into a neighboring town to drink beer or go to a show. One day he said feelingly: 'I was all fagged out, felt I wanted to tell everyone to go to hell if they talked to me and I didn't like it. I went to the movies, but my mind wasn't on it. What I needed was a good old burlesque show - you know, like at the Old Howard in Boston.'

The factory, in fact, presents a series of lessons worth reiterating, however obvious they may be. One of the points of greatest significance is that the change was not only too great for the homesteaders, but also for the factory management, particularly the foreman. It will be remembered that he had been accustomed to work in sweater mills in Eastern Seaboard cities, where foreman and managers are little restricted by community and union interference and the personnel turnover is large. In other ways, too, the foreman was a product of a busy, industrial urban environment - he liked the wide range of amusements, the crowds, the excitement, and the fast pace, the quick-acting, quick-thinking people, the antithesis of his present lot. Here he found himself in a 'dump' surrounded largely by a staff with slow-measured speech and with none of the lively interchange of comments that was congenial to him. The emphasis on community good deeds and re-

sponsibility he found irksome. Finally, management's apparent disinterest in him, his house and factory were almost more than he could bear. Several times he threatened to leave. His equilibrium was upset so often that he went around upsetting the employees in turn, and complaining to his wife and boss. In contrast, the Field Staff tried to quiet down the homesteaders, to keep them from 'splitting the community wide open.' One member of management said this about one of his fellows: 'Did you hear about how Daniel handled one of the big factory troubles? Well, there was a meeting and the two sides were all heated about this. Daniel just sat there and didn't say anything. In the end, they all quieted down and everything was all right. You can't beat that. They all saw how extreme they were and Daniel's taking it calmly made them feel ashamed.' Although the management tried their utmost to keep the equilibrium of the homesteaders from being upset, they did little in this respect for the factory foreman. Had management either realized his limitations and cooperated more with him or hired a man who could more easily have tolerated the change, much trouble could have been averted. The homesteaders would not have nurtured so great a resentment if they had not been so often subjected to abuse.

As far as the financing and actual operation of the business went, management might have taken advantage of ample precedent to foresee the sequence of events that were to come and to map out its course. If this had been done, the right moves could have been carried out at the right time, thus eliminating much misunderstanding and inefficient production, to say nothing of increased operating expenses and an irate foreman.

#### THE WORK CAMP

The social organization of the project was completely revitalized by the participation of the 50 campers. Almost all organizations, activities, and homesteaders were affected. In two important matters, the work campers were instrumental in accelerating a crisis, but in one matter they presumably were responsible for averting one, namely, by building the factory extension. If to make up for their oversight in building the factory too small, management had had to rely on the homesteaders for free labor, there would possibly have been a strike. One unemployed homesteader who thought some of his children ought to work in the factory, said one day before the campers came: 'I hear they want to build new house for factory. We no build house now, no Sir.' Moreover, since the work camp-

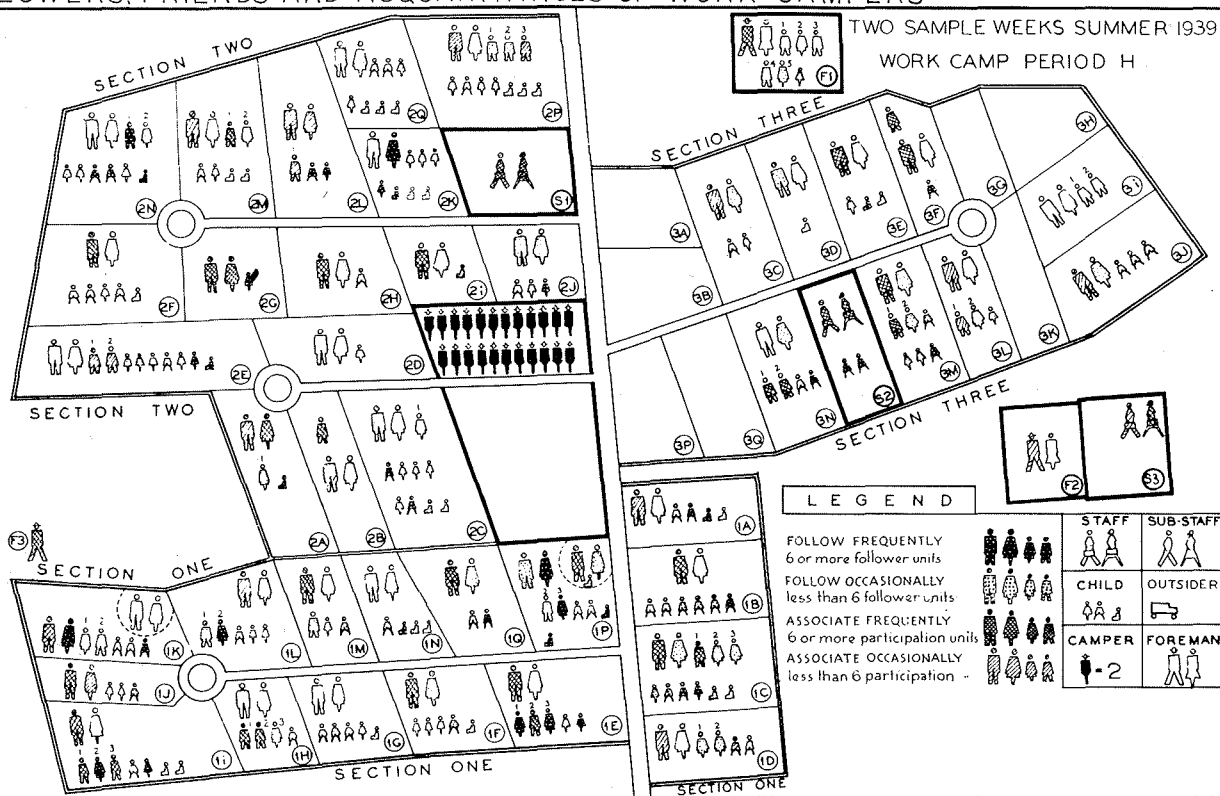
ers were building the factory, the house construction schedule was not unduly upset. In fact, the campers made it possible to speed up house construction, and to expand the farm operations by building a corn crib, moreover as customers, they provided a new and substantial market for both the cooperative store and the farm.

The work campers were a factor of major disturbance in the life of the project. The large work crews which existed during the strike were now resumed, making it possible to speed up the construction work. Likewise the interaction in associations and informal meetings increased inordinately. In one capacity or another, the campers were in touch with most of the homesteaders. (See Fig. 5) They shifted the leadership around, in part taking it away from existing homestead leaders and in part developing it in new temporary leaders. The director and his wife were well aware of the difficulties in encouraging homesteader leadership, as a quotation from the latter will indicate: 'Much as the Staff and the campers desire to gear in with the existing organizations and to work with the already-appointed leaders, it is not very easy, for the homesteaders are accustomed to turning over the reins to the campers and are more than willing to do so as their hours are unusually full.' The decline of at least two homestead leaders and the rise of three others was largely attributable to the work campers. Even in families the work campers assumed leadership during various crises, thus removing the opportunity for homesteaders. The followers of the work campers, determined according to methods already described, were mostly the children. (See Fig. 5) These children were chiefly those who attended the nursery school, the Girls' Club, and other classes run by the campers. Leaders in their own right, or people who associated with the campers more as equals than as followers, are shown as associates rather than followers.

As the associational activities in the project, especially those involving the young people, increased under the leadership of the campers, the attraction of the town amusement places decreased proportionately. The success of the Saturday Night Dances and informal evening gatherings testify to this. In certain cases, the success attained exceeded the desires of the camper girls, as it resulted in some of the young homesteaders making more than friendly advances. The friendly democratic manners of these 'exotic' girls, plus their scant clothing, shocking to homesteader standards, was a lure too strong for the more daring to resist.

## FOLLOWERS, FRIENDS AND ACQUAINTANCES OF WORK CAMPERS

Fig 5



The departure of the campers created almost as much of a disturbance as had their arrival. Immediately prior to their departure, the work campers had maneuvered to have one of their group, or a camper of a previous year stay on semi-permanently to supervise the recreational activities of the young. For the first week or so after their departure there was much conversation and many group gatherings about the matter. Finally, at a meeting of the Community Association, it was decided not to have a camper stay on. In the meantime, many of the organizations which the campers had started and supervised had ceased. There was no leadership in the community to take over the various activities, particularly those affecting the young people. It was not long before the camp-sponsored homestead leaders returned to their inconspicuous pre-camp status.

As though to make up for the sudden dearth of activity, new organizations were started, such as the morning Sunday School, the Community Center Committee, etc. In addition, after a few weeks' lull,

several local non-resident leaders were brought in; a recreational director for the very young and the adolescents, and a nursery school teacher are two examples. Thus the desires of the campers were in effect achieved, and the enlivened activity of the camp period approximated.

From actual association with the homesteaders, the campers became acquainted with their many grievances. Interested and sympathetic, they frequently provoked discussion of grievances. Two particular grievances were paramount; one, the factory, the other, the necessity of fulfilling rent and credit hour obligations prior to moving into the permanent houses. Provoked by the prospect of again facing a winter confined in a chicken coop, the homesteaders had much to say about it to the campers. At the construction work and at odd hours of the day, with eager questions, the campers fanned the flames of their homesteaders' discontent. The two crises culminated simultaneously in the middle of the summer with frequent meetings, correspondence with top management, and feverish running about. These

meetings created a more active cooperation between management and homesteaders, as well as between the Field Staff and top management. During the ensuing MINE BOOM period, the relations of the Field Staff and top management still continued to be more frequent than theretofore. In consequence the many problems were ironed out this time more amicably and effectively.

The one outstanding generalization about the work camp was the way situations were intensified and the whole tempo of life quickened. The building of the houses, factory extension, and corn crib was either considerably speeded up or completely accomplished by the campers. Because of the lengthy house construction program, the need for enlarging the factory, and the expansion of the farm operations, the decision to have the campers speed up construction was excellent. Here was a free labor force to help rectify knotty problems, the solution of which otherwise was either difficult or not apparent. However, to set the precedent of calling on a fairy godmother whenever one is in a 'jam' is unfortunate, for it certainly is not likely to stimulate better planning. On the other hand, management had an interest in providing an educational experience for the campers. As one member of management said: 'Campers received an experience much more than they gave as a group - and they could get the experience only on community suffrance.' Was the welfare of the homesteaders or the education of the campers the first consideration?

The great increase in activity of all kinds was distinctly in the direction of management's goal. However, this attainment would avail little, if it so whetted the appetite of the homesteaders for livelier times that they would have to satisfy it outside the community, lacking opportunity and leadership within. In one way or another, people seek congenial companionship wherever they can find it. If unable to maintain congenial relationships within the project, the homesteaders would seek them outside, particularly if they had plenty of money to spend as was the case after the departure of the camp in the MINE BOOM period. Was it wise to provide the homesteaders with a free summer's entertainment if they were not to have a greater share in the leadership? The responsibilities of having changed people are great. Management could well have afforded to concentrate more on training the homesteaders to lead so that the activities once instituted would continue.

During the MINE BOOM period, a lull in the project life set in both because of the departure of

the work campers and because of the reopening of the mines, which have been described above. At this time it was a wise decision to have several local non-resident leaders come in to help re-create the lively camp atmosphere, since the homesteaders themselves were unable to do it. It was wise, as it maintained a degree of the social self-sufficiency for the project stimulated by the camp. A lessening in the lively tempo of community activities would make the project appear 'dead' in contrast. Homesteaders could be more easily enticed by outside activities. However, it would be unwise to start or continue activities unless these outside leaders, given time, could transfer the leadership to the homesteaders themselves.

What the campers contributed toward attaining the aims by increased participation in activities, they dissipated by accelerating the already strong tendency toward leadership turnover. It would have better promoted management's ends if the existing homestead leaders in particular organizations had been further encouraged to lead. In addition, perhaps new activities could have been started with the idea of creating new leaders. The work campers were not completely deficient in this respect, but more could have been done.

Finally, with regard to the two crises, the campers helped to bring to a head, the important result was in drawing management closer together and in limiting the domination of the Staff by forcing upon the homesteaders a little more initiative. It is unfortunate for a group to upset and dominate a scene so fortuitously. However, some people fail to be convinced till the breaking point is near. It was regrettable that top management and the Field Staff had not been closer to start with.

Perhaps the most unexpected misfortune in the whole project was the sudden and almost complete cessation of the work crews after the start of the war. Like the majority of people, management was completely unprepared for it. The result of this circumstance tended to reduce the community to a mere housing project -- to break up the community equilibrium that management had laboriously built up. Although it is easy at this moment to say that a mine boom might have been considered a possibility certain facts may be indicated. There exists a considerable body of precedent to show the highly cyclical character of the coke industry in this region. However, the coal was so nearly exhausted that if the possibility of a recurrence of boom times was considered by management, they may have been gambling on the chance that there would be no coal in

the area by such a time. One preparation for meeting an inevitable community decentralization in a boom period would have been to have started an industrial development at the very commencement of the project. Such an industry would have had to have been so well run that even in the face of a possible unfavorable differential in the daily wages, the men would have preferred to stay on and enjoy their way of life with a sense of both emotional and economic security. Another possibility would have been to have resettled in an area where the coal was already exhausted.

At the present time, there is still a mine boom, and the men are still engaged in trying to finish their houses. To find time to do this, the practice of working at night has been instituted. Thus in many respects, the more recent history of the project resembles that of the fall of 1939.

Before the winter of 1939 set in, at least 17 families of the total 50 were living in their permanent houses. The final cost per family for the finished house, 1-1/2 acres of land, chicken coops and other outbuildings, share of road construction, pipe-laying, etc. amounted to a little under \$2,000.00. By the use of the credit-hour system, the homesteaders utilized their leisure time thus eliminating a \$2,000 - \$3,000 labor cost. Management felt truly elated that 'through the use of leisure time in a self-help program,' cheap housing was now a demonstrable reality. Where the Government had failed, they succeeded. Hardly an outsider had believed that they would. The following statement brings out further the significance of the accomplishment to management:

'The homesteaders in the last two years in section 1 have accumulated an equity of this world's goods of a little under \$2000. In other words, they have accumulated more in the last two years than they ever accumulated before. But it doesn't mean anything to them. They don't see it that way. Money is the only thing that does mean anything. They get it all Saturday and by Monday morning it is gone.'

Each finished house then was another challenge to management to demonstrate that the ownership of fixed property was not a meaningless asset. Each house ready for occupancy brought the building program closer its end and increased the total outstanding loan to all homesteaders. Was this loan ever to be repaid? Would the miners ever pay for their houses? Temporarily the answer is being supplied by a war industry.

#### 4. LEADERSHIP AND SUMMARY

In order to take in the principal changes at a glance, the following diagrams, of four of the periods were drawn, Fig. 6. For comparison, a diagram representing management's desired goal is included also. The most striking comparison between all the periods is the way the community self-sufficiency changes from period to period as indicated by the shading of the community in contrast to the shading of the area outside the property. To make it possible to see quickly the reasons for the presence or lack of community self-sufficiency, the various organizations are likewise shaded to indicate where within the project the activities of the homesteaders are concentrated. The arrows have been included to add further detail, as indicated by the key.

These diagrams bring out a few simple points: (1) Family and community self-sufficiency are both lacking. (2 & 3) Great fluctuations in activity of all organizations are present, except for the Field Staff, whose activities remain constant and considerable. It is evident that the project was in a state of continual flux. Before people had time to become adjusted to one another in the course of some activity, some changes would occur which would force them to readjust to a new set of circumstances and associates. In other words, there was little stability in the ordered relations of the homesteaders; the only stability, the only constant element in the whole community, was the leadership dominance of the Field Staff.

To demonstrate the changing vs. the stable aspects of leadership, the following facts are pertinent:

(1) The changes in followers were considerable.

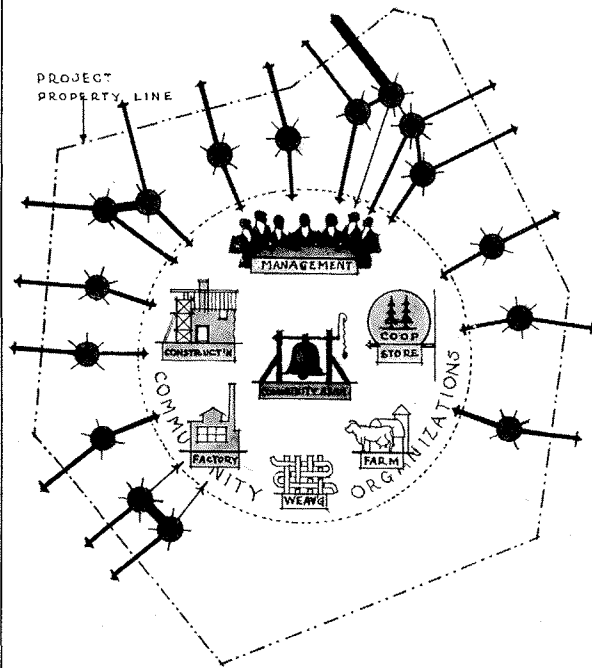
(2) The turnover in leaders was likewise considerable. Counting the new leaders\* and those that dropped out, the average turnover from period to period was about 19. In contrast, an average of 16 leaders did not change. The greatest turnover occurred among the homesteaders, whose changing leaders exceeded the unchanging. The reverse was true among the Staff leaders, as a majority continued from one period to the next. On an average, the proportion of changing to unchanging leaders was twice as great among the homesteaders as the Staff.

\*Unless otherwise mentioned, husbands and wives, if both are leaders, are treated as one. This was done to simplify handling the data.



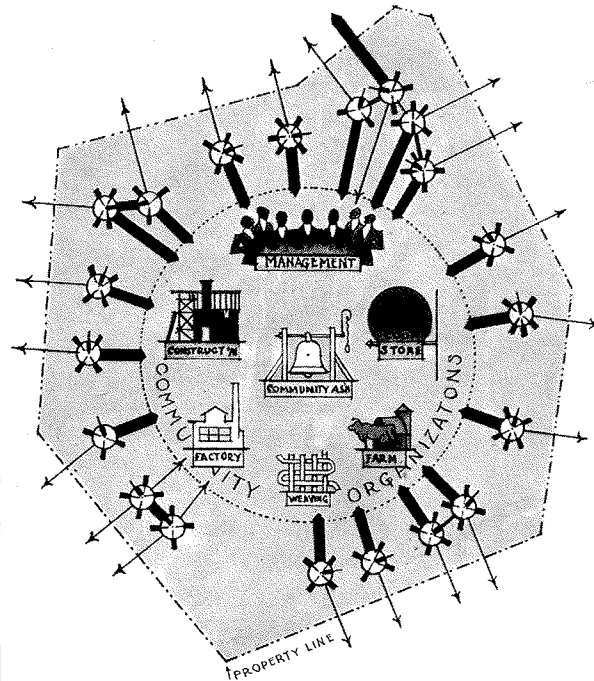
START OF FACTORY WINTER 1939  
PERIOD F

FIG. 6 b



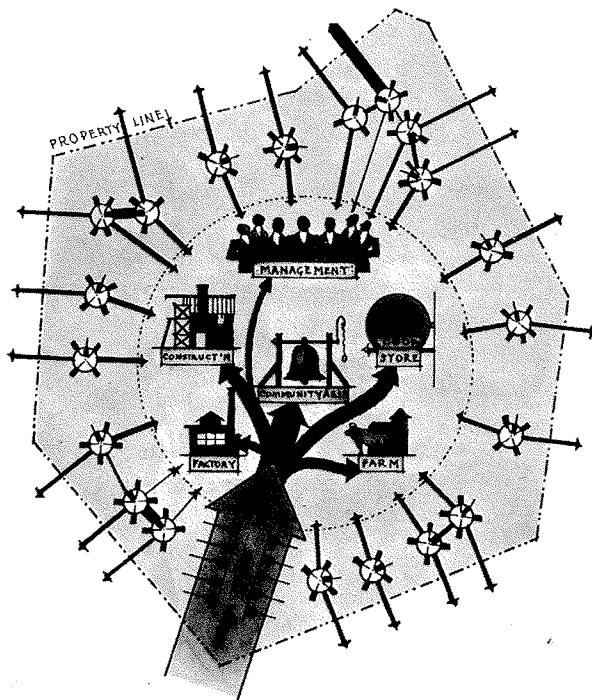
MINE CLOSURE SPRING 1939  
PERIOD G

FIG. 6 c



WORK CAMP SUMMER 1939  
PERIOD H

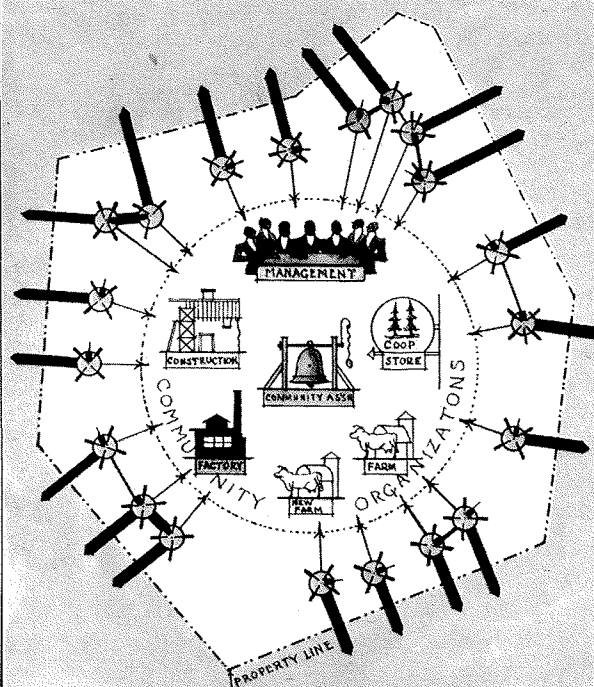
FIG. 6 d



5 WORK CAMPERS = ▲

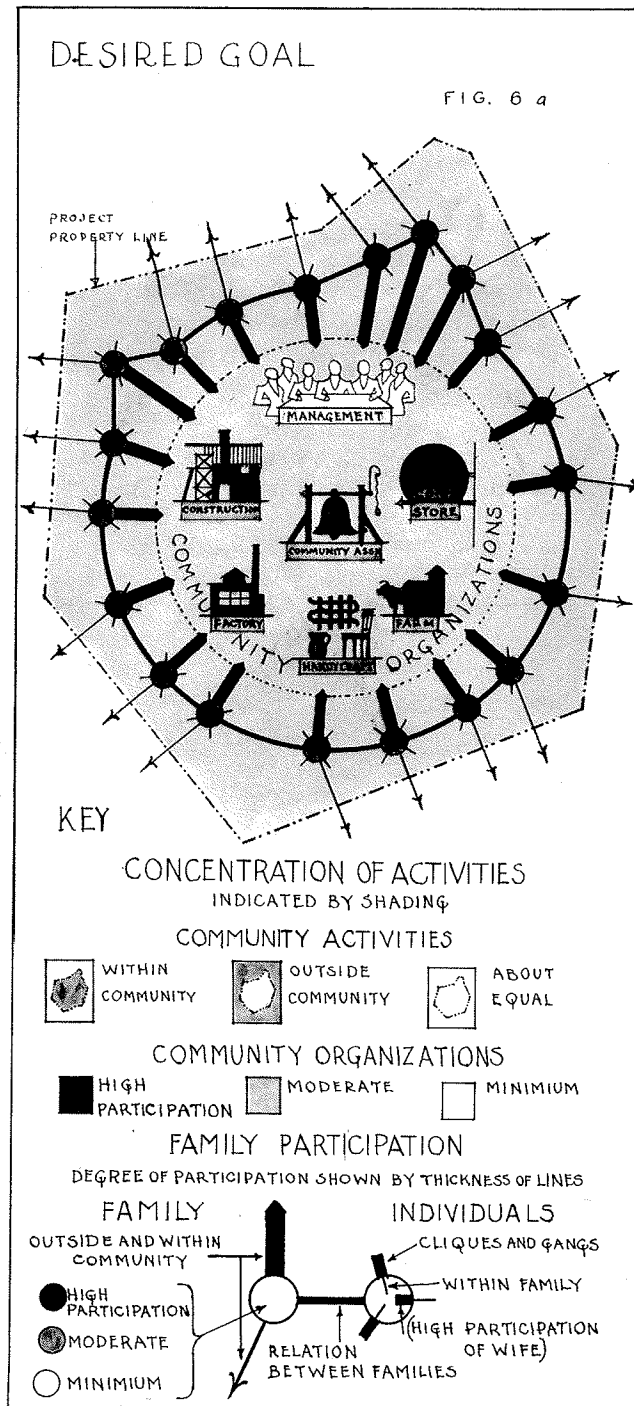
MINE BOOM FALL 1939  
PERIOD J

FIG. 6 e



O. P. MORTON

## DEGREES OF COMMUNITY SELF-SUFFICIENCY



(3) The dominance of the Staff leaders was uniformly considerable and regular. Comparing steady leaders, the Staff are seen to outnumber slightly the homesteaders. Those who maintained leadership for about a year or more were considered steady leaders. The true nature of the uniform Staff dominance, however, is brought out by Fig. 7, illustrating the leadership units for all periods during the year investigated.

Another, more precise indication is the evidence gathered at the various association meetings. A count was made of all the times anyone spoke up, and if the person spoke over 5 seconds, the duration was recorded. The evidence from the Community Association meetings is particularly interesting. The dominance of individual Staff members is shown by the fact that although they averaged about 10% of the attendance, they appropriated about 25% of the speeches under 30 seconds. The homesteaders on the other hand, made up on the average about 70% of the attendance, and in turn appropriated about 70% of the speeches under 30 seconds. In other words, each Staff member participated on an average about two and a half times again as much as the attending homesteaders.

Particularly outstanding is the regularity of the Staff and homesteader quotas and the precise indication that their relations in this particular organization were in equilibrium - see table below:

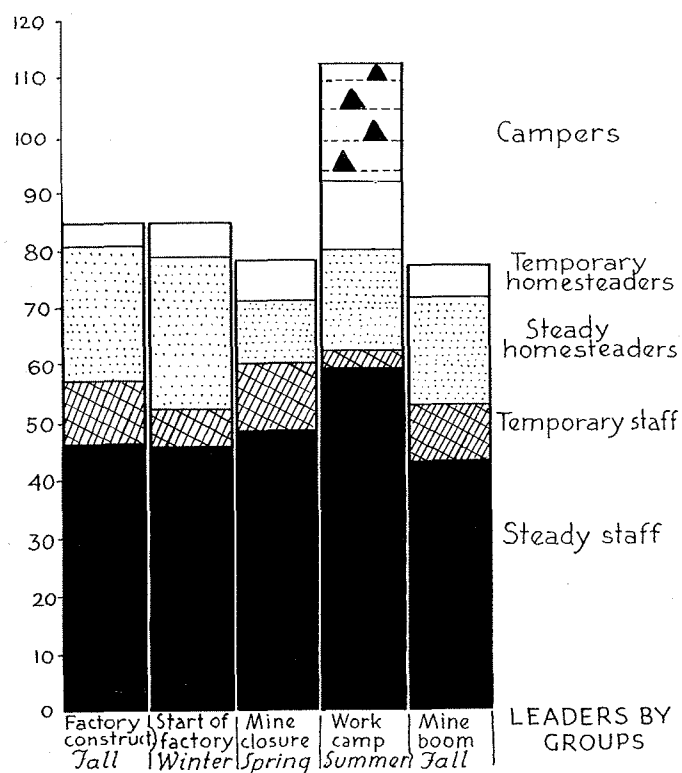
### PARTICIPATION IN DISCUSSION

#### MEETINGS OF COMMUNITY ASSOCIATION

(Figures indicate per cent of all speeches under 30 sec. - = not present)

	(1938)	1	9	3	9
Month	Dec	Mar	Apr	Jun	Jul
Day	7	29	12	21	5
Aug	16	31			
One staff member	14	14	-	15	16
Other staff members	16	15	15	13	10
Visiting school principal	-	-	12	-	-
Work campers	-	-	-	1	0
Staff Total	30	29	27	29	26
(incl. people associated)					
Homesteader chairman (1938)	25	15	8	40	8
Homesteader chairman (1939)	3	27	25	-	50
Homesteaders - other adults	42	16	35	25	16
Homesteaders - young (excl. sec.)	0	3	5	7	0
Visiting miner's wife	-	10	-	-	-
Homesteader Total	70	71	73	72	74
(incl. visiting miner's wife)					

Fig. 7



### VARIATION IN LEADERSHIP UNITS

At meetings at which no visitors spoke, the variation for the homesteaders is between 70 and 74%, and for the Staff naturally the converse, namely 26% to 30%. In contrast, at the meetings at which the visitors spoke to any marked degree, the quota of either the Staff or the homesteaders decreased by an equal amount. For instance, at the meeting of December 7, 1938, the homesteaders' percentage was 70. No further timing was made till about four months later, on March 29, 1939. This time the homesteaders' quota fell 9%; a visiting miner's wife had appropriated 10%. At the next meeting, two weeks later, the percentage of the homesteaders returned to a little more than 70. In the meantime, at this latter meeting the percentage of a visiting school principal was 12%. This time the Staff's quota fell correspondingly, about 12% or a little more. At the next recorded meeting, the Staff's quota returned to the usual percentage of 30 or a little under. At a subsequent meeting, the work campers had a similar effect on the Staff. This precise information, indi-

cating the merely temporary disturbance caused by the visitors, is proof that in the Community Association, the relations between the homesteaders and Staff were in equilibrium during the periods described. The table is inserted for the sake of greater detail.

It is pertinent to notice that every time a visitor caused a disturbance, only one group was affected. The miner's wife disturbed the homesteaders, and the school principal and the work campers disturbed the Staff. Interestingly enough the miner's wife was obviously identified with the homestead miners, whereas the work campers were obviously identified with management. In fact, several work campers had been on the Staff in the past. As for the school principal, he came from one of the old county families and was definitely not identified with the miners. He and the Staff were similar in many respects, notably in holding positions of leadership near the top of a hierarchy in relatively large local organizations.

If, then, these visitors are identified with either the Staff or the homesteaders, why not add their quota to that of the group with which they are 'identified?' When this is done, as in the table above, the normal quotas of the Staff and homesteaders are obtained. As an explanation of this phenomenon, it is suggested that the interaction of people tends to reach a state of equilibrium. Management and homesteaders had reached a balance in their relations with each other. When a visitor came who was identified with either group, the balance was still maintained.

Not only do groups of people have their usual percentages, which defines their equilibrium, but certain people apparently do also as individuals. For instance, one Staff member varies between 14 and 16% with two exceptions. These exceptions occurred at the only meeting at which the young people were active participants, and the Staff member was consequently inconspicuous, letting youth have its say.

This steady Staff dominance and the state of balance between Staff and homesteaders was something entirely unsuspected by the writer. Had it not been for the evidence from these meetings, and from the leadership units, the important idea of a relatively constant Staff dominance would have escaped him. Moreover the concept of equilibrium would not have had as precise a substantiation.

The last meeting of all may be cited as an indication of increased homesteader participation in discussion, and so it was, namely 83%. This particular meeting was one in which certain leading home-

steads were concerned about the question of whether or not a camper should stay on to supervise the young. In consequence, they participated more than usual. The greatly increased percentage of the young homesteaders also partly explains the marked change. Unfortunately no subsequent meetings were recorded, and whether or not this was a permanent change is unknown. By such methods as these, it is possible to gauge the extent to which people increase their participation and leadership. The Staff dominance was in part a necessary consequence of the lack of community stability.

It will be remembered that the distribution of Staff leadership changed from period to period in accord with the seasonal and outside changes in activities. The principal cause of the change in activities was cash employment in the mines, over which management had no control. In the face of so much change, management had to take the initiative to keep the project's organizations from completely dying and to preserve some semblance of an active internal community equilibrium. If only a stable society had been achieved, then management could have retired and let the homesteaders take over. But until permanent cash employment is provided that generates sufficient centripetal power, the project's relations will be dispersed and centrifugal. The principal problem, then, of planning is to stabilize the society by inaugurating economic developments for the men. Once the community is stabilized, homestead leaders may rapidly arise, and management can more speedily withdraw. As management has pointed out to the writer, it is only fair to say that with all the difficulties, 'the homesteaders have been loyal enough so that construction has gone on .... and no family has voluntarily left the project.' In other words, the frequent changes have not thrown too many people into disequilibrium for too long. The real difficulty has been the lack of appreciable trend in the direction of the ultimate goal. In this connection, the role of the long-term building program is pertinent.

From the point of view of speed and trend in attaining the ultimate goal, the construction program has little to recommend it. But from the point of view of developing cooperation while management decides how community self-sufficiency may be permanently maintained, the long-range building program has been the one unifying force in the community. If by the time construction is completed, management has decided on a definite course of action to maintain community self-sufficiency permanently, the building program will have played a useful function in keeping the community together.

## D. CONCLUSIONS - NECESSARY PLANNING PROCEDURES

### I. Awareness of Consequences of Action

The simplest lesson to be learned from this experiment is that things did not happen as expected. The undoubted reasons for this discrepancy between plan and execution were two: (1) the inability to foresee the sequence of happenings following a given initial change, and (2) adherence to fundamental principles despite the consequences. We will consider the first reason in greater detail, for ability to foresee accurately consequences of an action is perhaps the one great leavening force on those who adhere strictly to principles.

Often people implicitly believe that if one thing is changed, there will follow only another simple change and that will be all. Each step is considered as an isolated move. But even the simplest observance of society demonstrates the oversimplification of this view. For example, the series of events consequent upon having started the sweater factory with insufficient working capital, an inexperienced manager, and an autocratic foreman, to say nothing of a management divided as to its purpose, set in motion a complicated, unfortunate network of happenings. From this example and numerous others, one is led to the inescapable conclusion that an important change in a social organization may set in motion a long sequence of other important changes.

In planning, the importance of predicting the chain of events consequent upon a given change is obvious. In common everyday life, more or less accurate minor predictions about people and their reactions are being continually made by those thoroughly familiar with their fellows. Such predictions are instinctively made by all who have a wealth of experience. The management of the project under discussion sometimes predicted accurately major changes in their organization by saying: 'It will split the community wide open.' Such a phrase is a more picturesque way of referring to disequilibrium.

An attempt has been made to show that the principle of equilibrium and disequilibrium provides a useful method for making predictions. If a person exceeds the upper limits of his total capacity for associating with and leading others, a crisis will result. The case of the factory foreman is an example. On the other hand, if there are complaints that 'nothing goes on around here', and if one's desire to associate with others goes largely unfulfilled, then people become querulous and malcontent as were the adolescents in the late spring. For management, therefore, the problem may be stated as follows:

Within the limits of people's capacity, to make it possible for them to associate together in a manner most directly promoting the goal desired.

As already intimated, the principle of equilibrium is a tool that many use intuitively for prediction. In many other respects able administrators of long experience unsuspectingly acquire intuitive procedures for dealing with the problems of their organization. These procedures, rarely more than vaguely recognized, have stood the test of time. Such procedures frequently go by such names as 'laissez faire,' 'following leads,' 'rule of thumb,' 'going as the way opens,' etc. Many people prefer to consider these barely conscious and unsystematic procedures distinct from deliberate planning. The truth of the matter is that the 'rule of thumb' can be shown to follow definite patterns, and people who have no plan are commonly unsuspecting formulators of their own unvoiced plans.

The operating of the factory affords an example. Although the broad policies were discussed by all members of management, the details of organization were definitely not systematically planned. Nevertheless, most members of management instinctively felt what should be done about certain aspects. The hiring of a non-homesteader factory employee is a case in point. For the factory management, it was a natural businesslike procedure. For many others, it was an intolerable affront to the community - a threat to community solidarity and self-sufficiency. It is pertinent to point out that both points of view were contained in the statement of policy presented to the homesteaders:

'The community has been planned on a self-help basis, on the principle that each member of the community contribute to the welfare of all, this same principle to be followed in the organization and the operation of the industry... It is the intention of the directors that this industry be conducted according to cooperative principles.

'Any industry installed shall be operated as a separate entity and on a business basis.'

## II. Elementary Planning Procedures

From a practical point of view, it is immaterial whether planning is conscious or unconscious: all that counts is whether it works, whether it is good or bad. As already intimated, unconscious planning is more than adequate for unchanging situations rich with precedent. Faced with new conditions, however, lacking numerous precedents, one's instincts frequently lead one into unsuspected pit-

falls. New community resettlement in this country is one example of a type of undertaking with practically no established procedures. Inevitably, therefore, to avoid following one's own innate prejudices and inarticulate plans, good systematic planning is essential.

Planning procedures are simple and obvious, but it pays to enumerate them, as too few people consciously realize them. The procedures enumerated below all presuppose a given goal and the desirability of attaining the given goal as quickly and inexpensively as possible.

### (1) Always keep the end in view

Make only those changes that lead most directly to the desired final result. If this procedure is not followed, the attainment becomes longer and more expensive; possibly it may never be attained if one move offsets another. The house construction vs. the economic development is a case in point. In order that people may associate together in such a way as to attain the equilibrium desired, the following considerations are important.

### (2) Adaptation to the local current conditions - type and magnitude of changes

#### Type of Change

In getting people to associate together, more success will usually result if familiar modes of behaviour are tolerated. New ways of behaving may threaten their equilibrium. For instance, with regard to the cooperative store, the lack of credit extension, delivery, and taking orders militated against its success in competition with company stores. For people whose family life is adjusted around the credit system, the change involved may be too great a strain. For a family who had broken away from the credit system, the sensible thing would be to patronize the cheaper cash super-markets. One ostensible reason for not allowing credit extensions was the desirability of breaking the miners' thriftless buying habits. The danger of the method is that it might 'break' the store. Credit systems the world over are an integral part of many societies, even some in which thrift is held at a premium.

#### Magnitude of Change

When it is desirable to prevent agitation by leaders that may 'split the community wide open,' a person's tolerance for change must be respected. The equilibrium of an organization is always put to a strain when the personal adjustment of a leader is in disequilibrium. The factory situation is a pertinent example.

### (3) Sequence and timing of changes

The changes must be arranged to form an

orderly sequence of moves that inevitably lead most directly to the goal. To limit the number of moves required, each single move must be an essential precursor to those that follow. Several examples of superfluous moves or a disordered sequence of moves have been mentioned; an example recognized by management was the introduction of weaving for family subsistence before the house construction program was completed. It was unwise to attempt to carry on both simultaneously, as there was not enough time in the day.

The inauguration of all moves must be well-timed. The consequences of having waited too long before building the factory foreman's house illustrates the point.

#### (4) Periodic Sampling

It is impossible, of course, to carry out the above planning procedures without adequate information - information about the past and, if possible, about the future. Without information based on experience, planning for the future is made without basis for foresight. The crux, therefore, of good planning is a knowledge and understanding of all pertinent information. It is imperative to know the results of past planning, to keep abreast of the new trends, to know the moments for timing moves; all

this can be accomplished by periodic sampling. The study under question can serve as an example.

If a somewhat similar, systematic sampling of changes were made periodically and presented to management, management would be better posted on the trend of developments in their own organizations and act accordingly. In short, periodic sampling provides a systematic method for keeping abreast of changing conditions. Management can be kept systematically informed on the changing network of relations, and know more precisely how to avert or induce desired changes in equilibrium.

In this article, we have been mainly concerned with the trend of the project's development. We have seen the direction in which it is going and we have shown the direction in which it was supposed to go. The two are not the same. Will it veer in the right direction? That is a question of future administration. When did it veer off its course? At the very start of the project, some important facts about the local situation were not fully appreciated. In the next articles, therefore, the miner's way of living will be described, and the economic system of the region. The pertinence of this information to the success of the project will then be pointed out.



### Book Review Section, Statement of Policy

The Book Review Section of the Journal makes its first appearance with this issue. In order to explain its present and future selection of books for review, a word should be said about policy. It is hoped to make this section as catholic and yet as specific as the Journal itself. All works of every length which deal, in any or all of the academic, professional or other disciplines dealing with human relations, or which emanate from any or all of the institutions in which experience in the appraisal and conduct of human relations is reported, are welcome in these columns. They must conform only to one criterion: do they advance our objective observation

of actual recurrent events of interaction among human beings? This section will in fact be devoted to a search for such works. The editor will welcome any help that readers care to give him. He asks readers to suggest where such works are to be found and to send him their discoveries and their comments on them. Only by making the review section a cooperative enterprise can those interested in developing an operational science of human relations gather together for comparison and communication the enormous but scattered mass of observation out of which such a science must be built.